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**ABANINDRANATH TAGORE  
STELLA KRAMRISCH  
EDITORS**



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*Ananda K. Coomaraswamy*

*Photo by Dorothy Norman*

## THE LAST TIME I SAW COOMARASWAMY

*By Dorothy Norman*

*Suddenly I had an urgent desire to see Coomaraswamy. I went to Boston in order to do so. I took my camera with me. For years I had wanted to photograph that extraordinarily sensitive head, but I had failed to do so. Why I now felt such sudden urgency I cannot say. I had had no word that Coomaraswamy was ill. I had no reason to believe that the end was so near.*

*We met at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. Coomaraswamy was at his desk working when I came in. The desk, as always, was buried under masses of documents. At once, and as always also, without a moment's delay, we were in the midst of a discussion about symbolism, art, India, America.*

*The voice was rather strained. The skin was almost frighteningly transparent. The long, delicate hands, the entire body, moved with unaccustomed effort.*

*I photographed only briefly. The light was dim. I had no artificial lights with me. I was filled with fear that any exertion might prove tiring. I continued to be afraid, even while we spoke, that any protracted expenditure of energy might be harmful. But Coomaraswamy seemed as eager to talk as ever before, and he spoke with his usual classic languor, combined with disguised passion.*

*"American preoccupation with improved 'design' is utterly meaningless." He spoke as from a great distance. But the peculiarly toneless aspect of the voice seemed to heighten, rather than to lessen, the intensity of what was said.*

*"To have any significance," he observed, "a rug, a house, anything that man creates, must possess far more than what is called 'good design.' Certainly it must have quality too. But, even more than*

*that, it must be a living symbol to those who make it and use it of an entire approach to life."*

*How often we had spoken of the same theme, of how everything man-made must have a deeply religious meaning. Of how it must be made with the gods in mind, and in their image. Of how it must face toward the gods, reach toward the gods, symbolize the gods.*

*According to Coomaraswamy a work of art must be made in the Thomist sense. Art to him was simply the right way of making things. The right way, which went beyond mere craft. The right way, which embodied the right-spirit—all great traditions being right, all great traditions being equal one to the other.*

*And how did one know what was the right way? This was a question upon which Coomaraswamy wasted little time. Either one knew or one did not know. He spoke of the found, the saved and the lost. Of how the found were those who knew; the priests, the seers. The saved were those whom it was possible to teach, with whom it was possible to communicate. And then there were the lost, those who did not themselves automatically know the right way; those whom one could somehow not teach.*

*He spoke, as always, of the American error of thinking of art in terms of originality. And of Gandhi in relationship to art: "Gandhi," he remarked, "can be looked upon as a moral saint. But not as an aesthetic saint. He said, for example, that a woman should not wear a necklace. Had he been also an aesthetic saint he would have said, 'If a necklace is to be worn then it should be a good necklace.' "*

*We spoke of another of Coomaraswamy's favorite subjects: the wrong way, to him, in which contemporary museums exhibit contemporary objects. "It is absurd to put objects that are properly part of one's daily life into museums, with the mistaken idea that anything is made merely to be looked at."*

*He spoke with great feeling of a book he was eager for me to read, Capitalism, Socialism or Villagism?, by Bharatan Kumarappa.*

*He agreed with what Gandhi had written in the foreword, that "Villagism as it is being attempted in India, based as it is on truth and non-violence, is well calculated to avert the doom" of annihilation*

toward which mankind is rushing by continuing "along its mad career of exploitation of the weak by the strong."

To Coomaraswamy, just as one could not think of a rug, or a house, or any other artifact, in terms of design alone, so one could not think of the right way of living in terms of the individual alone. One must take into consideration the individual's relationship to, and his concept of, the community as a whole.

The ideal of villagism in the Gandhian sense represented to Coomaraswamy a goal higher than that of capitalism or socialism; a goal higher than that of either mere individualism or mere centralization of power.

He believed with Tagore that "Men have been losing their freedom and their humanity in order to fit themselves for vast mechanical organisations." With Tagore he hoped that "the next civilization" might be based not on "economic and political competition and exploitation but upon world-wide social co-operation; upon spiritual ideals of reciprocity, and not upon economic ideals of efficiency. . . ."

Coomaraswamy spoke that day, too, of Meister Eckhart, and with particular warmth. For in his last years Coomaraswamy merged more and more intensely in his own thought the great tradition of the West and the great tradition of the East, just as he felt that such a merging must take place in the world at large.

As we said good-bye he shook his head sadly about how few Indians seem to realize the meaning of the great tradition they have inherited, or to live in its image. He spoke with even greater sadness of the way in which America has lost all sense of the great tradition. But, he remarked, because India still clings to her great tradition, at least to some degree—even though sometimes wrongly—she represents a greater hope for the world than does any country in the West. The revival of a positive attitude toward villagism, he said, and the possibility that an enlightened co-operative society might be created in India filled him with great hope. He tapped Kumarappa's book with the same reverence he might have displayed in handling a piece of great Indian art.

There was something deeply moving about hearing the far away

*voice sharing the quintessence of what the long and dedicated life had taught. But I left with a heavy heart nevertheless. The skin was a shade too transparent. The voice was a shade too weak. The body seemed almost alarmingly fragile. When I left I said sadly to those whom I joined, "That extraordinary man will soon die. I shall never see him again."*

*Within little over a week I received word that Coomaraswamy had died.*

## SOME EARLY RĀJASTHĀNĪ RĀGA PAINTINGS

by W. NORMAN BROWN

An unusual series of rāga paintings in early Rājasthānī style was shown me in Delhi in March, 1948, by the distinguished Jain scholar Itihāsa Tattvamahodadhi Jaina Ācārya Vijayendra Sūri. The series and the manuscript containing it are incomplete. Illustrations of only twenty rāgas survive, which are shown, to a page, on the reverse ( numbered ) sides of ten folios, bearing the numbers 3, 4, 5, 6, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15. The last folio has no colophon and seems clearly not to have been the final folio of the complete manuscript.

The manuscript is of paper, and its format is native Indian. This feature is unusual for Rājasthānī illustrated books. The writing runs the long way of the page and the pages turn from bottom to top, unlike the Persian style manuscripts produced in India, on which most Rājasthānī paintings appear. In the latter the page turns from right to left and the writing generally runs the short way of the page.

The folios measure about  $10\frac{1}{2}$  by  $4\frac{1}{8}$  in. ( =about .026 by .012 m. ) These dimensions correspond to the general range of dimensions of illustrated Western Indian paper manuscripts of the 15th and 16th centuries and are smaller than the dimensions of most illustrated Western Indian manuscripts of the late 17th and 18th centuries.

Five of the folios are not original wholes, but consist as now preserved of two pieces, each containing a painting, which have been tightly stuck together ( see Plates II middle and bottom, III top, middle and bottom ). The other folios are original wholes.

At the top of the page above each painting is the name of the rāga which the painting illustrates. On the other side of the folio is a stanza in old Hindī describing the rāga and indicating the intention of the painting. In several cases the name of the rāga as it appears above the



painting and the name given in the stanza do not exactly correspond in form, though both may refer to the same subject. The handwriting of the title above the painting differs from that of the Hindī text. A copyist with pretensions as a calligrapher wrote the poetic text, but someone else, whose handwriting was more commonplace, made the guiding notes for the artist.

The paper of the folios is of a kind commonly used for Western Indian manuscripts of the 15th, 16th, 17th and 18th centuries, and is not distinctive.

The colour scheme of the paintings is simple, as in the case of early Rājasthānī paintings, though not quite so restricted as the colour scheme of Early Western Indian paintings of the 15th and 16th centuries. The prevailing colours are vermillion, a medium blue, green, yellow, white, black. Occasionally a salmon is used, as for the man's dhotī in Plate III middle, lefthand side. Several times a light brown appears, as in the body colour of the man in Plate II middle, lefthand side, and in the same plate bottom, righthand side, of the man at the left, and again of the male figures in Plate III bottom, both sides.

The artist seems first to have applied the yellow, margins and interstice between miniatures, leaving blank the spaces for the miniatures themselves. It is not apparent from anything in the paintings that he did any drawing before applying the pigment. Instead, he seems to have painted the figures and main furnishings of the scene directly. Then he filled in the background; afterwards he outlined the figures and furnishings with red lines. Finally he added the accessory personal ornaments and other minor decorative elements.

All faces are shown in full profile, as in Rajput paintings generally, and unlike the convention of Early Western Indian painting, which shows most faces in three-quarters profile, with the outside corner of the farther eye protruding into space. The eye in the present paintings is unusually large and is often shaped like the body of a fish ( 'mīnākṣa' ) or else imperfectly so shaped.

Men wear dhotī or pajāmas, women dhotī or a skirt. Women also wear a bodice and both sexes are likely to wear a scarf very delicately indicated ( Plate II bottom, lefthand side, all three figures ). Women wear

small puffs at the wrists and elbows and sometimes at the shoulders, and rows of flowers indicated by white dots along the hairbraid and over the top of the head. Men occasionally have a similar flower ornament in the hair ( Plate III middle, lefthand side. ) Men may wear a turban wound around a conical cap ( Plate I top, righthand side. )

The architectural settings, the treatment of trees, the manner of showing clouds, and the solid colour backgrounds, whether red, blue, black, or green, are all characteristic of early Rājasthānī paintings, as in the Rasikāpriya manuscript now represented in a half-dozen American museums ( Philadelphia Museum of Art, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Freer Gallery of Art, Brooklyn Museum, Boston Museum of Fine Arts, Cleveland Art Museum, Albright Gallery ) and apparently coming from the early 17th century and in a more elaborate style of painting from the end of the same century also represented in many paintings, for example in the Municipal Museum, Allahabad ( see 'Indian Art and Letters', vol 21, 1947, facing p. 68 ).

The artist of these paintings had a free flowing style, full of action, He had a sure and unhesitant manner, with great variety of pose. As paintings these are among the best of the period.

The manuscript bears no date, but a guess concerning its period is not too difficult to make. The style of the painting is only a degree more advanced than that of the transitional style of painting from Early Western Indian to Rajput shown in a manuscript of the Uttarādhyayana Sūtra, dated equivalent to A. D. 1591. and reported as Ms. JP. in W. Norman Brown, 'Manuscript Illustrations of the Uttarādhyayana Sūtra,' New Haven, 1941. ( This manuscript now is exhibited as a part of the collection of the Baroda Museum. ) The date of the paintings discussed here would seem, therefore, to be only a few years later. The style of page and of its ornament also adds to the impression that the paintings were executed in or about the first quarter of the 17th century.

The language of the text seems close to Braj. Distinction between dental 'n' and retroflex 'ṇ' is uncertain, usually 'n' is written. Similarly 'r' is sometimes used for 'ḍ' ('torati' = 'toḍati' ; 'sāri' for 'sāḍi' ; 'ṣ' is regularly written for 'kh'. Some interesting words are 'puhapa' = Skt. 'puṣpa' ; 'saina', = Skt. 'śayana' ; 'tryā' = Skt. 'strī' ( ? ).

## Description of the Paintings

## Plate I

Top. Folio 3, lefthand side. 'rāga paṭamaṃjarī'. On the obverse is a 'dohā': 'chīnagāta aru malina mana mahāvīyogī na jāna

baithī thoḍī hātha dhari paṭamaṃjarī baṣāna'

"With body wasted away and depressed in mind, when in separation [ from her beloved ] she goes nowhere. She sits with chin supported in her hand reciting the Paṭamaṃjarī [ rāginī ]".

The disconsolate mistress is clearly the figure at the left, and her forlorn state is emphasized by the dishevelled appearance of her hair, which is not in the usual neat braid of this series. She wears almost no ornaments. Facing her is a friend or attendant, evidently trying to enliven her. The black sky seems to indicate that the time is night. The mistress' body is yellow, the attendant's a light brown. Both wear dhotī, bodice, and scarf.

Top. Folio 3, righthand side. 'rāga lalita'. On the obverse is a 'dohā': 'pahireṃ bahu bhūṣana basana sobhita goreṃ mātā

saina karati nīja seja para lalita rāginī prāta'

"Wearing many ornaments and garments, splendid, the fair mistress lies exhausted upon her bed at dawn—the Lalita rāginī."

The bed cover is red, the pillow and foot cushion, green. In the blue sky the rising red sun indicates that the time is dawn ; and the lover slips away into the darkness shown by the black background, throwing a last look at his mistress, who however, seems too exhausted to follow him with her own glance.

Middle. Folio 4, lefthand side, śrīrāga'. 'dohā':

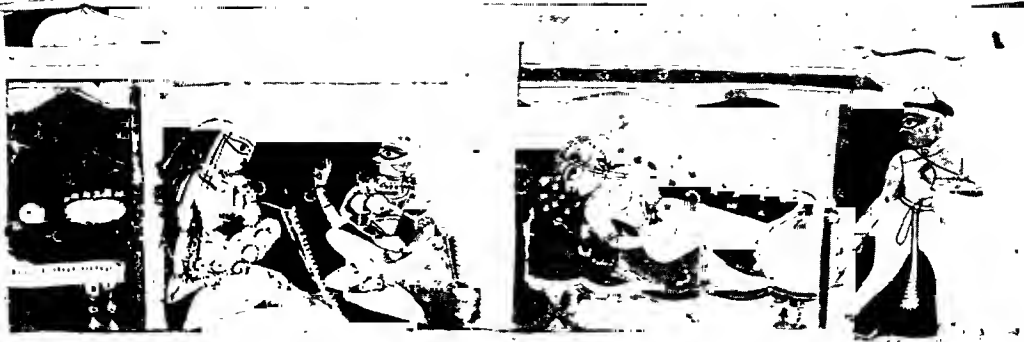
'baithe suṃdara bhuvana mainṃ caura ḍulāvati nāri

laṣi sobhā śrīrāga kī tana mana ḍārati vāri'

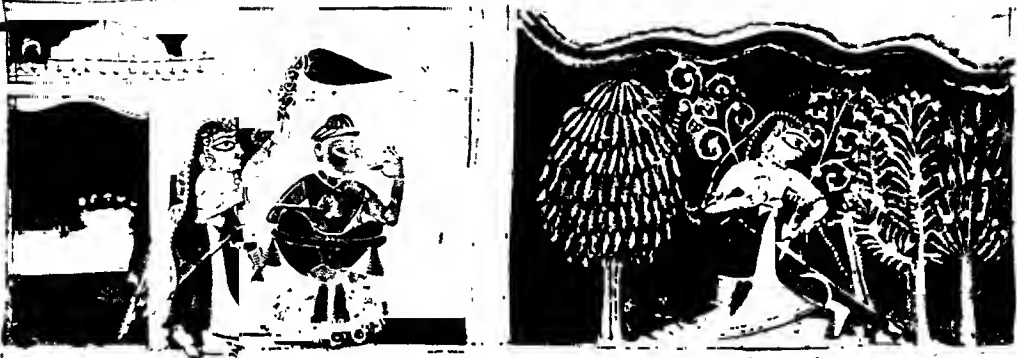
"He sits in a beautiful mansion and a woman waves a fly-whisk over him. Contemplating the splendour of the Śrī rāga the groom is perfectly concentrated in mind."

Against a red background is shown the hero seated on a blue cushion ornamented in yellow. His body is light brown ; his garments white. He

3



4



4





wears a moustache and short beard ; on his head is a pagrī ( turban ) with cap. Around his knees is a band to help him hold the meditative pose. In his left hand is an unidentifiable object, possibly 'pān' ( betel nut wrapped in leaf ). The female attendant, who may possibly be his mistress, wears a green skirt. Inside the pavilion is a bed ; the sky whether above the pavilion or seen through it, is blue.

Middle. Folio 4, righthand side. 'rāga aḍānā.' 'caupāī' :

'kakubha rāginī viraha satāī pahari pīta paṭa bana maiṃ āī  
puhapa hāra chavi kahata na āvai gaura aṃga saba ke mana bhāvai'

"Kakubha rāginī. Tortured by separation, wearing a yellow garment, gone to the forest carrying flowers and reciting his beauty, she returns not ; her fair body excites everyone's mind."

The stanza says she wears a yellow garment, which would be that of an ascetic, but the painting shows it as red. Overhead lowers a cloud. The black background seems to indicate that the time is night, though around her figure the ground is blue. The trees of the forest and the flowers in her hands are conspicuously represented.

Bottom. Folio 5, lefthand side. 'rāga śaṃbhāvatī'. 'caupāī' :

'caturānana saṃṣaṃ beda paḍhāvai vidhi saṃṣaṃ homa kerai ru karāvai  
cīra suraṃga aṃga chavi chājai gaura barana śaṃbhāvatī rājai'

"Like the four-faced One ( Brahmā ) he teaches the Vedas ; like Vidhi ( Brahmā ) he performs ( read 'karai' for 'kerai' ? ) and causes [others] to perform the fire-oblation. A bright garment covers the beauty of [her ?] body ; [her ?] fair colour gleams—Khaṃbhāvatī [rāginī]."

The four-faced and four-armed figure on the stool appears to be the hero representing himself as the god Brahmā. His two upper hands are in gestures of instruction ; one of the lower hands holds the vessel for sacrificial water. Opposite him sits the heroine on a green cushion, extending in her two hands an unidentified object.

Bottom. Folio 5, righthand side. 'rāga rāmakalī.' 'dohā' :

'sveta barana sārī sarasa sobhita goreṃ gāta  
baiṭhī piya saṃṣaṃ māna kari rāmakarī anaṣāta'

"Wearing a white-coloured sārī ( 'sārī = sādī' ? ), vivacious, adorned, fair of body, seated she appears honoured by her lover—the Rāmakarī [ rāginī ]."

The white sārī, very diaphanous, is draped across the heroine's face, which she turns away from her lover. The edge of the sārī runs from the right hand, which holds it over the head, down to the left elbow, and diagonally down the right thigh to the cushion.

## Plate II.

Top. Folio 6, lefthand side. 'rāga velāula.' 'dohā' :

'pṛitama kaṃṃ mana maiṃ bhajai bhūṣana sajai sujāna  
baithī graha saṃketa maiṃ belāvālī baṣāna'

"She adores her beloved in her mind and cleverly arranges her ornaments, while seated at home in assignation—the recitation of the Velāvalī [ rāginī ]."

The heroine sits on a cushion with a maid servant seated before her holding a mirror in which the heroine's face is reflected, The heroine's colour is blue, as it is also in the companion miniature on the same folio and on folio 13, righthand side.

Top. Folio 6, righthand side. 'rāga vayarādī.' 'dohā' :

'dhare puhapa maṃdāra ke kaṃcana kalasa majhāra ( read 'ri' ? )  
torati baithī gunakarī surati kela mana dhāri'

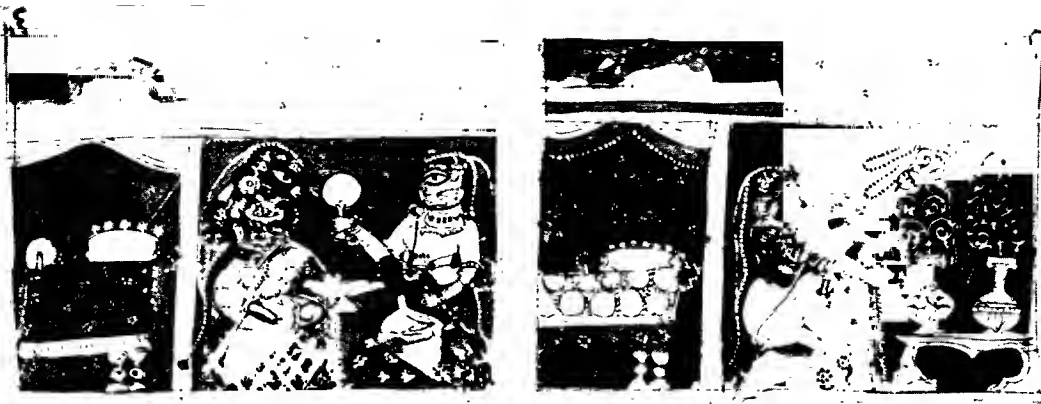
"She sets mandāra flowers in a golden jar and seated plucks them—Gunakarī [ rāginī ]—with her mind fixed on love's sport".

It appears that the names Vayarādī and Gunakarī ( or Gunakarī ) are variant names of the same rāginī. Three blocks of colour are used in the background ; blue inside the house, red behind the heroine, black behind the flower pots.

Middle. Folio 10, lefthand side. 'rāga dīpaka'. 'dohā' :

'gorī saṃga sobhita mahā deṣata dīpaka ora  
aṃkamāla dai kuca gahem dīpaka rāga kisora'

"The lover, youthful, well adorned, in company with his fair one, looks toward the flame, holding her right breast in an embrace—the Dīpaka rāga."







The bright red flame rises from a wall lamp set in a bracket. The bed cover is green ; the cushion on which the hero and heroine are seated is red.

Middle. Folio 10, righthand side. 'rāga dhanyāsi'. 'dohā' :

'ativicitra pāṭi liyeṃ citra bahu bhāṃti  
dhanāsiriṃ suṃdari mahā nilakamala kī kāmṭi'

"Taking a lovely drawing-board she draws his picture in many forms—Dhanāsiri—the great beauty, with the loveliness of the blue lotus."

Though the stanza compares the heroine to a blue lotus, the painting shows her face and body to be green. The drawing-board is of the sort commonly used by school children in India to-day, and they, like the heroine here, use a crayon or chalk.

Bottom. Folio 11, lefthand side. 'rāga vasaṃta', 'caupāi' :

'māthem mukuta vīnakara rajai nṛtya karatā manaṃ maina virājai  
phūle aṃbalatā cahūṃ ora kūkati kokila bolata mora  
tākī saṣi mṛdaṃga bajāvai suṃdara aṃga vasaṃta kahāvai'

"With crest on head, and lute in hand, Madana ( the god of love ) is resplendent and as he dances he enthralls our minds. Mango tendrils flower on all sides ; the cuckoo calls ; the peacock cries. Therefore a friend, a girl, beats the mṛdanga drum and describes his fair body—Vasanta ( spring )."

Fully ornamented Krishna—or the hero in the guise of Krishna—dances at the arrival of spring. Besides the girl beating the drum another clashes cymbals. The mango tree at the right is full of flower spikes. The background indicating the sky is intentionally stippled with red on blue.

Bottom. Folio 11, righthand side. 'rāga kanhaḍo'. 'dohā' :

'eka hātha ṣaṃḍau liyeṃ dūje kara gajadaṃta  
laṣi sobhā karanāṭakī cārana virada paḍhaṃta'

"In one hand a sword, in the second hand an elephant's tusk—observing his beauty a bard recites a panegyric—the Karaṇāṭakī [ rāginī ]."

Krishna, with blue body, stands as described. The bard seems to be accompanied by a second, shown smaller than himself, between him and the god. Krishna stands under what appears to be a cornice supported by a curving bracket.

Inset on p. 10.

Folio 12, lefthand side. 'rāga désakāla'. 'dohā' :  
'baiṭhī atiālasa bharī mauna dhareṃ aiṃḍāta  
nīla barana sārī lasai gaṃdhārī subha gāta'

"Seated weighed down from weariness, staying silent, she twists herself ; her lovely body gleams in a blue colored sārī—Gandhārī".

The sārī is white, not blue. The heroine's body is remarkably twisted in a pose that is graceful enough but hardly seems restful.

Folio 12, righthand side. 'rāga vilāsa bāyānaṭa'. 'caupāī' :  
'pṛitama pāsa vaiṭhi suṣa pāvai eka hātha saṃṇ caura ḍulāvai  
bhayau kāma basa jākau kaṃta bairāṭī atijobanavaṃta'

"Seated beside her beloved she enjoys happiness ; with one hand she waves a fly-whisk, while her lover, so youthful, has fallen under love's spell—the Bairāṭī [ rāginī ]".

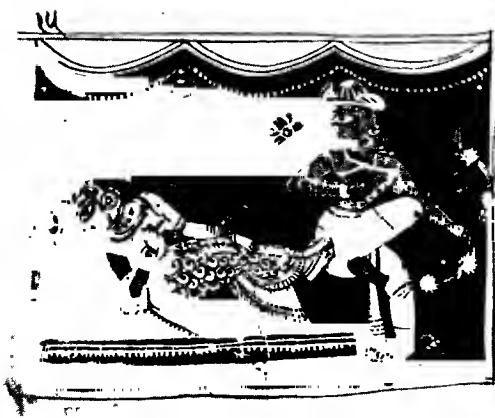
The camara ( fly-whisk ) is red. The hero holds at his mouth a small green object, which may be 'pān' ( betel nut wrapped in leaf ), while the heroine coquettishly turns away from him.

Plate III.

Top. Folio 13, lefthand side. 'rāga mālakośa'. 'kavitta' :

'sone kauṃ mukuṭa māthem bhūṣana bibidhi sohaiṃ sone hī kau  
siṃghāsana subhaga banāyau hai sone sī salonī tryā  
āgeṃ ṭhāḍhī liyeṃ pāna sone hī kau pāna dāna parama suhāyau hai  
eka saṣī pāchetem ḍulāvati hai caura āchem sone sau bhuvana  
saba sone hi saṃṇ chāyau hai ānada saṃṇ virī ṣāta upamāṃna  
kahī jāta sone hī se gāta mālakausa man bhāyau hai'

"A golden crest is on his head ; various sorts of ornaments glitter [ on him ] : an auspicious lion-throne has been arranged [ for him ] : in front of him stands a woman like gold, who has taken 'pān' from a most elegant pān-box and felicitates him with it. Behind him a female





friend waves a fly whisk. He is in a house of gold ; everything is covered with gold. Happily ( read 'ānaṃda' for 'ānada' ? ) he eats betel ( 'virī' = 'biḍi' ? ). His body is said to be like gold. His mind is happy—the Mālakosa [ rāga ].”

The picture does not correspond to the stanza. It shows the hero seated on a bed, while before him are two musicians, one playing a lute, the other clashing cymbals. The metre of the stanza seems incorrect.

Top. Folio 13, righthand side. 'rāga gūjarī'. 'dohā' :

'pahireṃ bahu bhūṣana basana dhareṃ kaṃdha para bīna  
syāma salonī gūjarī rāgina parama prabīna'

“Wearing many ornaments and fine clothes, holding a lute at her shoulder, dark, lovely, superbly accomplished—the Gūjarī rāginī.”

The heroine, leaning back on a couch of leaves, her body a dark blue, looks up at a flowering tree in which sits a bird—black and looking for all the world like the despised crow but possibly meant for a maina.

Middle. Folio 14, lefthand side. 'rāga kamoda'. 'caupāī' :

'līne hātha accha kī mālā āsana tara sobhita mṛga chāla  
jāpa karata gaṃgā ke tīra rāga kamoda mahāmati dhīra'

“Holding a rosary of nuts in his hand, with a beautiful deer skin on top ( 'tara=tala' ? ) of his seat, on the bank of the Ganges the mighty-minded, steadfast [ hero ] mutters prayers—the Kamoda rāga.”

The rosary does not appear in the hero's hand, nor is the deer skin, which is customary in religious meditation, draped over his seat. Though in religious exercise, he wears flowers in his hair.

Middle, Folio 14, righthand side. 'rāga goḍī'. 'gaurī' :

'campaka barana gaura tana bhanau ṭhāḍhī bāga mohani manau'  
'kalpavṛccha guccā liyeṃ hātha rūpa urvvaśī saṣī na sātha'

“With body fair of colour like a campaka flower, she tarries in the garden, confused of mind. In her hand she takes a cluster of wishing-tree flowers. in beauty she is like Urvaśī : no companion is with her.”

The heroine's distraught state is symbolized by the disheveled appearance of her hair. The entire background of this painting, as of its companion on the same folio, is blue. Two of the three trees are in bloom.

Bottom. Folio 15, lefthand side. 'rāga vibhāsa.' 'dohā' :

'nija patinī kī seja para baiṭhe karata vilāsa  
puṣpadhanuka kara maim liyeṃ sobhita rāga vibhāsa'

"Seated on his wife's bed he engages in love's sport, lovely, holding the flower bow in his hand—the Vibhāsa rāga."

The bow in the hero's left hand is that of Kāma, the god of love, made of sugar-cane, with a bowstring composed of bees. In his right hand he holds a flower, which is perhaps meant to be one of Kāma's flower-tipped shafts. His shoes are noteworthy.

Bottom. Folio 15, righthand side. 'rāga baṃgālī.' 'caupāī' :

'viraha dahī baṃgālīna nāri kāmārūpa riṣi chavi anuhāra  
gaṃgā udaka kamaṃḍala bharai bhojapatraṇ tana basatara dharai'

"Burnt from separation the Bengali woman assumes at her will the form of a sage. She fills her vessel with Ganges water ; she wears garments of birchbark."



## THE LAST OF THE GREAT COLA TEMPLES

by K. R. SRINIVASAN

The revival of the imperial Cola line on the accession of Kulottuṅga I ( Eastern Cālukya Prince Rājendra ) to the Cola throne in 1070 A. D. at a time when the line founded by Vijayālaya Cola ( in c. 850 A. D. ) threatened to come to an end, marks the second phase of Cola ascendancy and their achievements in the South. Kulottuṅga was more Cola than Cālukya since his mother and his father's mother were Cola princesses. The kings of this Cola-Cālukya line, which came to an end in 1246 A. D. with the ascendancy of the Pāṇḍyas to power, were as great builders as their forbears—Vijayālaya, Parāntaka I, Rājarāja the Great and Rājendra I.

This infusion of new blood into the Cola line brought about the second vigorous phase not only in Cola administration and politics but also in literature and art. We shall concern ourselves here mainly with the last, and take as our examples two of the largest and most outstanding monuments and deal with their architecture in some detail especially since they have not been sufficiently noticed hitherto by writers on South Indian temple architecture. They are the 'Airāvateśvara' in Dārāsuram and 'Kampahareśvara' in Tribhuvanam, both places situated near Kumbakoṇam in the Tanjore district. They come in the line of the great temples or 'Jāti-vimānas' of the Colas, of which the well known Brihadīśvara temples in Tanjore and Gaṅgaikonda Colapuram are the 'magnum opus' of the Colas. In their main components both the Airāvateśvara and Kampahareśvara temples are more or less later editions of the two temples mentioned above including later developments in the architectural motifs of the Drāviḍa order.



## 1. THE AIRĀVATEŚVARA.

The Airāvateśvara, called Rājarājeśvara in its inscriptions, was built by Rājarāja II (1146-1173 A. D.). While the name of the temple later became Airāvateśvara in accordance with its 'Sthalapurāṇa' the name of the village got corrupted from Rājarājeśuram and finally into Dārāsuram.<sup>1</sup>

The temple in its original condition seems to have had a number of 'prākāras' with 'gopura' entrances to each. Only one of the gopuras in front of the great temple is now extant. Axially the main temple consists of the 'vimāna' with its 'ardhamandapa' facing east, the latter

1. See Annual Reports, Epigraphy Madras, Inscriptions Nos 16-23 also *ibid.* 1925, No. 255. The epigraphist in paragraphs 65 and 66 of his report for 1908 (p. 80) says "The Airāvateśvara temple at Dārāsuram is built in the style of the Kampahareśvara temple at Tribhuvanam and both of them seem to have been copied from the Tanjore temple. It is thus not impossible that the Airāvateśvara temple at Dārāsuram near Kumbakonam which is called Rājarājeśvara in its inscriptions, was either renovated or built by the Coḷa king Kulottuṅga III." In his report for 1920 paragraph 22 on p. 102 he definitely says that it was constructed by Kulottuṅga III. The presence of two inscriptions of Rājādhirāja (1163-79 A. D.), the predecessor of Kulottuṅga III (1178-1228 A. D.) on the throne—Nos. 18 and 19 of 1908 one of which was of his 12th year (1175 A. D.), points to the existence of the temple before Kulottuṅga III. The inscription 17 of 1908 is of the 21st year of Rājarāja evidently Rājarāja II and would correspond to 1167 A. D. The construction of the temple must therefore be placed before 1167 A. D. An inscription of Kulottuṅga III, 20 of 1908 dated 1186 A. D. calls the temple Rājarājeśvaram and the place Rājarājapuram and provides for 'gifts of lands for repairs to the temple. A late Pāṇḍya inscription (23 of 1908) and another (22 of 1908) dated 1486 A. D. call it by the corrupted name of Rāvāśuram or Irārāśuram.

In his Sanskrit inscriptions in Tribhuvanam Kulottuṅga III is said to have repaired or renovated among other places the Rājarājeśvara. In his two Tamil inscriptions from Puḍukkottai (Nos 163 and 166) he is said to have been pleased to cover with gold of ornamental work the Rājarājeśvaram to the glory of its creator, his 'great ancestor who was snatched away by the Lord of Death. This is an explicit statement by Kulottuṅga III about the real founder of Rājarājeśvaram. Perhaps his grant of lands (20 of 1908) to provide for repairs to the temple has a reference to this activity which related to the gilding of the 'Śikhara' with gold leaf on brass or copper plate.

It will be seen in the course of the description that follows that contrary to what the Epigraphist says the Airāvateśvara and Kampahareśvara not only differ from each other but also from the Tanjore temple. In view of what has been said above we cannot agree with Smith (V. A.) who says that 'the architecture and sculpture of the temple at Dārāsuram in the Tanjore district closely resemble those of the temple at Gaṅgaikondacolapuram and must be of approximately the same age'. ('History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon' pp. 225-26). The temple at Gaṅgaikondacolapuram was built by Rājendra Coḷa I (1012-1044 A. D.) and is clearly a century earlier than the Dārāsuram temple and more so than the Tribhuvanam temple.

connected in front by a north-south transept ( *iḍaikali* ) with the closed 'mahāmaṇḍapa' which is preceded by a pillared 'agramaṇḍapa' having a portico on its south.

This 'maṇḍapa' is called 'Rājagambhīra<sup>1</sup> tirumaṇḍapam' ( the sacred 'maṇḍapa' of Rājagambhīra ) and is built to simulate a chariot on wheels. The entire construction is of well dressed granitic stone and the 'aḍiṭṭhāna' is raised above ground level by an elaborate podium or pedestal, the 'upapīṭha'. On this account the South Indian architects would call this, as they do the two Brihadīśvaras, a 'Māḍakkoyil' or 'uttama-vimāna' and classify it as of the 'Meru' type. The Brihadīśvara in Tanjore is called 'Dakṣiṇa-meru' in its inscriptions.

The 'Samacaturāśra vimāna'<sup>2</sup> enclosing the 'garbhagrha' with its 'ardhamaṇḍapa' is raised on the 'upapīṭha' ( or 'kuraḍu' ) which has a 'padmadala jagatippaḍai'<sup>3</sup> or expanded lotus base ( cyma ); the dado is decorated by a series of flat pilasters the recesses between which contain bas-reliefs of animals, such as lions and bulls and dancing bhūtas. The surbase is a sort of a heavy cornice moulding or 'kapota' which is adorned by a series of 'kūḍu' ornaments, one above each pilaster strip and 'koḍikka-rukku' ( scroll work ) in between them and at the corners. The arches of the 'kūḍus' enclose circles containing many small figurines in semi-relief which depict dancers, bulls, etc. Over this 'kapota', runs a 'vyālavari', a

1. Rājagambhīra seems to have been one of the little known surnames of Rājārāja II. That it was one of his surnames is clear from an inscription from Tiruppanandāl, Tanjore district ( no. 45 of 1914 ), of Parākeśari Rājārāja II which relates to the construction of a processional road from the temple to the river and the naming of it as Rājagambhīra Tiruvīdi. ( see Epigraphist's report for 1915, p. 99, paragraph 26 ). It will therefore be correct to assume that this 'maṇḍapa' ( like the road elsewhere ) was named after the title Rājagambhīra while the temple came to be called Rājārājeśvara after his more recognised name. See also *ibid.* for 1928-29 No. 128 and part II p 76 paragraph 36.

2. 'Vimāna' is the name denoting the principal structure containing the 'garbhagrha' used in South Indian inscriptions. It is defined as the entire structure between the 'upāna' below and 'stūpi' above.

3. 'Paḍai' and 'vari' are architectural terms in Tamil denoting a tier or horizontal course of similar architectural members, e. g. the 'Jagatippaḍai', 'Kumudappaḍai', 'Varippaḍai' 'Tāḍippaḍai', 'Upānavari', 'Kumudavari', 'Vyālavari', etc.

frieze of leonine griffins, projecting beyond the corners in the form of jutting 'makara' heads.

The pedestal proper or the 'pīṭha', or 'adīṣṭhāna' as it is also called, occupies a smaller square thus leaving a fairly wide circumambulatory passage on top of the 'upapīṭha', called in Tamil the 'Āḷoḍi'. The width of the 'ardhamandapa' is lesser than that of the 'vimāna' proper thereby exposing to view a part of the front wall of the shrine on either side. Its 'pīṭha' has a well formed 'padmadala' basis forming the top course of a stepped up 'upāna'. The 'padmadala' base seems to suggest a 'padma kośa' conception of the shrine. Above, and separated from it by a short but sharp constriction, is a smooth torus moulding, the 'kumuda' or 'kumudavari', semi-circular in section and with a linear series of lotus petals above and below it. A short intervening dado or 'kaṇṭha' separates the 'kumuda' from the topmost member of the 'adīṣṭhāna', the 'kapota' or cornice moulding. The 'kaṇṭha' is relieved at intervals by pilaster-like strips enclosing miniature panels portraying nymphs and 'bhūtās' in different poses of dance and merriment, sages, men and animals

The 'kapota' like its counterpart below in the socle, is embellished by a number of 'kūḍus' superposed over the pilaster strips below and in the intervals between them and on the corners are flourishes of 'koḍikka-rukku'. Over this 'kapota' runs a second 'vyālavari' marking off the top of the adīṣṭhāna.<sup>1</sup> Inside the gaping mouths of the jutting 'makaras' at the corners, which mark the ends of these friezes on the four sides, are little sculptures of vigorous warriors in action.

The quadrature of the 'vimāna' from its 'adīṣṭhāna' to the topmost 'tala' of the pyramidal superstructure, is broken on each side by a number of relieved bays alternating with recesses. The surface of the recesses corresponds to the wall proper of the shrine chamber while the bays, which stand out, represent a series of lesser shrines incorporated into the main structure. There are five such bays with four alternating

1. The 'kaṇṭha' and 'kapota' have been suppressed in the Tanjore 'vimāna' in order to give greater prominence to the 'vyālavari' or 'varimāna'.

recesses on each side of the 'vimāna' while in front there is one such bay on either side between the corner bay and 'ardhamandapa' wall.

Running all round the base of the wall and over the 'vyāla' frieze is a dadoed 'vari' which contains one of the most interesting features in this temple. The short pilaster strips and the recesses between them are panelled out in series depicting scenes from the

1. The derivation of this plan in this 'vimāna', as in the two Brihadiśvaras (as also in the Kampahareśvara, as we shall see later) can be arrived at by imagining a close approximation with the central 'vimāna' of an encircling series of (in this case fifteen) sub-shrines by the reduction and total disappearance of the ambulatory space in between. While the inner group of surrounding sub-shrines thus get incorporated with and later merge into the walls of the central 'vimāna', they still face, as in the original, the outer ring of sub-shrines ('parivārālaya') or cloister ('tiru-c-cuṟṟālai' or 'suṟṟālai') skirting the inside of the outer enclosing wall ('tiru-madil') which surrounds the larger outer ambulatory or court ('tiru-c-cuṟṟu-naḍai'). This original condition where the inner row stands apart from the main shrine, as do the outer rows, obtains in the plans of the Javanese temples, which are very elaborate in this respect. Nearer home (as we have briefly said elsewhere—in an illustrated lecture on the "South Indian Temple Unit" before the Archaeological Society of South India in November 1946—abstract published; and as Dr. Stella Kramrisch has very ably, and elaborately expounded in quite an independent approach to the subject in her article "Superstructure of the Hindu Temple", J. I. S. O. A. Vol. XII, 1944 and in her 'Hindu Temple' 1946) we have the example of the Kailāsanātha at Ellora where there are five detached sub-shrines, three on the sides and two at the hind corners standing on the same plinth with a circumambulatory between them and the main shrine. The next step is the reduction of this ambulatory seen in the plans of the Panamalai 'vimāna' with three subshrines on its three sides and the Aivarkovil, Koṇḍambālūr with four sub-shrines on the four corners of the 'vimāna', both of the Pallava period. The sub-shrines though attached to the main shrine in both cases still stand out as distinct structures. What appears to be a fusion of the plans of these two is to be seen in the Kailāsanātha in Kāñchi, with seven sub-shrines on the sides as well as the corners and here the fusion has advanced further.

This system of incorporation is seen in almost all the major 'vimānas' from the Pallava down to modern times. In the case of the Tanjore Brihadiśvara it must be noted, however, that the central bay on each side functioned originally as a doorway leading into the inner and narrow circumambulatory between the double walls of the 'garbhagṛha' and where we have the paintings over the walls facing the ambulatory and sculptures placed in niches projecting from the centres of each side of the inner wall opposite the door-way. Thus this 'sāndhāra vimāna' had four door-openings on its four sides. While the one in front was the main entrance to the sanctum, those on the three sides served not only to expose to view the large sculptures on the Koṣṭhas of the inner wall but also gave independent access to the painted gallery in the passage, at the same time lighting it, till they were blocked up in times of the Nāyaks. That it was done during their times is seen from the paintings of the Nāyaks on the inside of these tympana closing the original doorways. Another important difference is that in the Tanjore 'vimāna' (as in the Kailāsanātha in Ellora) the vertical part of the 'vimāna' enclosing the cella is of two storeys. This scheme of double storeys in the cella part is repeated in all the coeval structures, the 'ardha and mahāmandapas', the cloister, the enclosing wall and the 'gopuras'. The Gaṅgaikopadacolapuram 'vimāna' resembles the Tanjore 'vimāna' in this respect. The earliest Coḷa temple which has such a double storeyed cella is the Koranganātha in Srinivasanallur.

Periya-purāṇa<sup>1</sup>. The popularity of Śekkiḷār's composition of the 'Periya-purāṇa' which narrates the lives of the 63 Śaiva saints and its influence on both the royal patron and the public is easily inferred from the detailed depiction in narrative sculpture by Rājarāja II in his Dārāsuram temple. The similarity of scenes relating to the life of Sundaramūrti in the mural painting in Tanjore and the sculpture here is very striking.

The central and extreme bays on each side have 'devakoṣṭhas'. Their niches enshrining sculptures of gods are flanked by semi-pilasters ('koṣṭha-stambha') with squared bases, ('pāda') rounded 'kāls' (shafts) and similar capital members, viz. the 'padmabhandā', 'kalaśa', 'tāḍi', 'kumbha', and 'padama', except the abacus or 'palagai' ('palakha') which is square again. These shorter pilasters at the openings of each of the niches of the central 'devakoṣṭhas' of the 'vimāna' and the 'ardhamandapa' carry a projecting 'kapota', a rectangular 'grīva' and wagontop ('śāla'-type) 'śikhara' which has 'kūḍu' arches in front and at the ends. These seem to be in essence replicas of 'āyatāśra' shrines. But in the case of the other niches in the 'devakoṣṭhas' of the extreme bays, the pilasters of the niche openings support a projecting roof-plate surmounted by 'kūḍu' arches with 'simhamukha' finials and relief sculptures in their central circles. The smaller bays between the central and end ones do not have any niches on them. The main pilasters or 'kuṭṭiyakkāls' ('kuḍya-stambhas') cantoning the corners of each of the bays and equal to the whole height of the wall are almost full pillars. Those on the central bay have squared 'pādas' (bases) and 16-sided shafts ('kāl') and capital members of similar section on top while those on the other bays as well as those of the bays on the walls of the 'ardhamandapa' have square bases, octogonal shafts and capital members of the same type. The 'palagai' ('palakha') in all cases is thin and square.

1. See J. I. S. O. A. II, 1, pp. 30-31 (and plates). "Periya-purāṇa scenes in Dārāsuram temple", by P. V. J. Aiyar. For an account of all the sculptured scenes with labels in Tamil below see Annual report on Epigraphy, Madras for 1920, pp. 102-107, pls. I-VI; also *ibid.* for 1908, paragraphs 66-67, pp. 80-81. It is interesting to note that while in 43 panels the labels are inscribed on the stone in nine others they are written on the stone with red (ochre?) paint and left uncut. The painted and inscribed scripts are of the same period, and this is an indication of how the inscriptions were written with paint before being cut. The work appears to be left incomplete.

There are rudimentary 'nāgapada' ornaments at the place where the shaft ( 'kāl' ) springs from the top of the squared base ( 'pāda' ). The 'pāda', the 'kāl' ( 'daṇḍa' ) and the members of the capital in all cases are decorated by 'karukka' work ( scrolls and foliage ).

The tetragonal nature of the base ( 'pāda' ) and top member ( 'palagai' ) of the pilasters is a survival of the early Coḷa type which has in practically all instances entirely tetragonal pilasters. The evolution into polygonal sections and their greater frequency as Coḷa architecture advances are noticeable only in the case of the intervening members. The lower surface of the abacus which is an inverted, smooth doucine or ogee and called the 'padama' in the earlier Coḷa temples ( including the two Bṛihadīśvaras ) is here found to be a well-developed, inverted lotus with a whorl of expanding petals. It rightly represents the name 'idaḷ' ( the Tamil name for petal ) by which it comes to be called in Drāviḍa architecture from this time onwards. In the later styles the 'idaḷ' becomes many seriate consisting of two or more alternating whorls of petals. The corbels over the main pilasters too show an advance over those of the Bṛihadīśvaras where they are of the simple bevel and tenon type, the chamferring being on the extreme thirds of the width of the corbel leaving the middle third in the form of an angular and pendentive tenon in between. The corbels found on the 'vimāna' and 'ardhamandapa' in this temple are essentially of the same type but, while the central tenon remains the same, the chamfered parts on either side faintly assume the floral shape called the 'madalai' of the future 'puṣpabodigai'.<sup>1</sup>

1. The earlier of the Coḷa temples ( 9th-10th centuries A. D. ) have a simple type square block corbel with a bevelled end and angular profile, a survival of the indigenous wooden archetype very well seen in the Vijayālayaśivaram and other small Kāṇṇalis ( Alpa-vimānas ) in Pudukkoṭṭai and in the cave temples ( not of Pallava origin ) in the Pāṇḍya country and Pudukkoṭṭai. The Pallavas ( 7th-9th centuries A. D. ) introduced their characteristic corbels which are curved in profile and with the 'taraṅga' ( wave moulding ) ornament and a median band ( 'paṭṭai' ). The early Coḷas too adapted it in some of their temples ( Mūvar Kovil for example ) with this difference that while copying the 'taraṅga' and 'paṭṭai' they retained the angular profile in preference to the curved one and at the lower bend or angle introduced an innovation in the form of an involution, a 'trough' amidst the usual crests of the 'taraṅga'. In the succeeding phase ( Tanjore ) a synthesis of the two types occurs. The 'taraṅga' ornament usually fades away, sometimes represented only by vertical lines behind the end of the corbel, the 'paṭṭai' becomes more pronounced assuming the shape of a

In between the corbel and top of the abacus is a block, the 'vīraṅgaṭha'.

The recesses or chases between the bays are adorned by the 'kumbhapañjara' which are pilasters having a decorated 'pūrṇagaṭha' or 'kumbha' for their bases, and carrying on top over the abacus the superstructure of a 'pañjara'. This is an advance over the thicker decorative pilasters with 'kumbha' bases but not the typically 'pañjara' tops found in the earlier Coḷa temples (Tanjore and Gaṅgaikondacolapuram). This becomes also a regular feature of this and succeeding epochs. The entablature over the corbels consists of a plain architrave of beams 'uttiram' or 'uttirappaḍai', supporting a frieze of 'bhūtas', the 'bhūtavari'. The 'bhūtas' or goblins in this frieze are a study in themselves exhibiting all postures of dance and attitudes of comedy. The frieze on each side ends in lions at the corners. The massive curved cornice on top, generally called 'kapota' as the similar members at the base are, is often termed 'koḍuṅgai' to distinguish it from them. Like its counterparts below it is decorated by a series of 'kūḍus' with 'siṃhamukha' finials at intervals and 'koḍikkarukku' ornament in between and at the corners. This 'koḍuṅgai' is the replica of the curved metal sheet (copper or brass) cornices of the wooden archetypes and imitates in their decoration the embossed work on their metallic originals. The top of the entablature is finished off by a 'vyāla' frieze again with 'makara' heads at the corners protruding beyond the intersections.

The superstructure rises in five storeys, or 'talas' as they are called with reference to their floors or 'māḍams' with reference to their storeys, of diminishing size, the two lowermost ones extending over and including

median pendentive tenon while both the flanks are bevelled off. The Dārśuram corbel marks the next phase of embellishment, the bevels getting floriated in the form of the 'maḍalai'. The next stage marks the conversion of the angular pendentive into a campanulate lotus form with curved outline, the 'paḷastara' with a bud at the tip. In the Vijayanagar phase it gets prolonged and pronounced assuming a spout-like aspect ('nannandāl') with an expanded tip ('paḷastara') carrying a pendent bud ('pūmunai') and flanked by the two upward curved 'maḍalais'. Over the massive square pillars without bulbous capitals found in the 'maṇḍapas', however, the corbels from the later Coḷa times almost to the present day have the bevel and tenon, with vertical grooves on either side.

the top of the 'ardhamaṇḍapa'.<sup>1</sup> The first 'tala' is a string of miniature shrines each complete from 'upāna' to 'stūpi' running on the edge of the roof-plate and interconnected by a low parapet. They cover the tops of both the 'garbha' ( 'uṇṇāli' ) and 'ardhamaṇḍapa'. The miniature shrines, or 'pañjaras' as they are generally called, correspond in position to the bays on the 'vimāna' wall below while the low parapet which is crowned by a cornice and is visible between the 'pañjaras' as connecting them with one another all round corresponds to the recesses of the 'vimāna' wall. As in all the Drāviḍa 'vimānas' this belt of 'pañjaras' encloses the inner square which is an upward extension of the cella and forms the real nucleus of each storey. This central cubical structure has its walls adorned with pilasters and is crowned by an architrave consisting of the 'kapota' exactly as on the walls of the main cella or 'garbha' of the 'vimāna' below.<sup>2</sup> In the first tala the 'pañjaras' over the corner bays of the shrine and 'ardhamaṇḍapa' known as 'karṇakūḍus' in Tamil ( 'karṇa-kūṭa' ), are each of the square or 'samacaturāśra' type carrying a square 'grīva' and a four-ribbed domical 'śikhara' with a 'stūpi' or 'kalaśa' on top. Those

1. This seems to be a feature of all the greater South Indian 'vimānas'. This extension of the lower storeys over the 'ardhamaṇḍapa' or presence of a common parapet over both shrine and 'ardhamaṇḍapa' is noticeable in the Vijayālayaśrīśvaram, and the two Bṛihadīśvaras, a continuation of what we find in the so called rathas in Māmallapuram ( e.g. Dharmarāja, Arjuna, Bhīma, Sahadeva and Gaṇeśa rathas ) where the entire superstructure rises over both. This implies that the composite Vimāna consisted of both the cella and 'ardhamaṇḍapa' or 'antarāla', since both of them have a common superstructure. The term 'antarāla' signifies its purpose as merely an entrance passage. In the case of the other Coḷa temples the superstructure surmounts the 'garbhagṛha' alone, leaving the 'ardhamaṇḍapa' as a flat-topped structure in front. In such cases, the 'ardhamaṇḍapa' signifies an accessory vestibule connecting the shrine with the 'mahāmaṇḍapa'.

2. This is exactly similar to the condition we have described for the bays below. There is a narrow circumambulatory passage between the outer rampart of subshrines and the central cubicle of the superstructure in some of the earlier forms of Drāviḍa 'vimānas'. For example in the Dharmarāja ratha in Māmallapuram it is an open 'pradakṣiṇa' on the three 'talas' while in the Vaiṣṇaṭhaperumāl the 'pradakṣiṇa' is a closed passage in the lowermost storey as in the ground floor. Again in the Vijayālayaśrīśvaram it is an open 'pradakṣiṇa' on the first 'tala' while below in the cella there is a square covered ambulatory round a circular inner shrine. But in their upper 'talas', as it is the case with all other temples of the Pallavas and Coḷas, the 'pradakṣiṇa' atrophies bringing the rampart of sub-shrines in close proximity with the central cubicle. Thus it is a repetition of the same plan in diminishing dimensions repeated at each level till the top is reached. The Sat-mahāl pāsāda of Ceylon (12th century) is an example of this Ziggurat type shorn of the surrounding miniature shrines-



standing over the central or 'devakoṣṭha' bays of the shrine and 'ardhamanḍapa' are rectangular or 'āyatāśra' each with a similar rectangular 'grīva' over its architrave surmounted by the "wagon top" 'śikhara' carrying a row of 'stūpis' on top. On this account these 'pañjaras' are also called 'śālai' in Tamil ( 'śāla' ). The "wagon-top" 'śikharas' have a large projecting gable arch ( kūḍu ) in front, and a similar one at each end. The 'pañjaras' over the intermediary bays coming between the 'karnakūḍu' and 'śāla' on each wing of the sides, have each an arched roof, the arch crowned by a 'simhamukha' finial. They are the front views of the apsidal ended or 'gajapriṣṭhākṛiti' shrine. The second 'tala', which is really the top of the central cube of the first 'tala' of lesser dimensions, repeats the same grouping of the 'pañjaras' as below but the 'ardhamanḍapa' part of it is simply a walled enclosure, the walls embellished by pilasters and corbels and provided with an overhanging 'kapota'. A row of 'nandis' are placed along the edge on top. The third, fourth and fifth storeys are confined to the central shrine alone and repeat the same arrangement of 'pañjaras'. On the top of the fifth storey rests the circular drum or 'grīva', its diameter lesser than the square below, and the space left on the four corners is occupied by pairs of recumbent bulls or 'nandis'. The dome or 'śikhara' is also circular with an outward bulge across its middle and slightly splayed out at the bottom. On the four cardinal sides of the 'grīva' are projecting niches on which are superposed the similarly projecting 'kūḍus' from the sides of the 'śikhara'. The 'stūpi', which was of metal, and was placed on the 'mahāpadma' and the 'paṭṭika' slab which finally closes the 'brahmarandhra', is now missing and only its central rod is 'in situ'. Much of the top portion is covered and obscured by stucco ; perhaps this was the part that was plated with golden tiles by Kulottuṅga III. The stone construction is clearly visible in the first four storeys only.<sup>1</sup>

Axially in front of the 'ardhamanḍapa' is a north south transept or ( idaikaḷi ) as in Tanjore and Gaṅgaikonda-Coḷapuram, reached by flights

1. In Tamil such apsidal ended shrines such as the Bahadeva ratha in Māmallapuram are called 'tūṅṅānai mādam' meaning a structure shaped like an elephant that sleeps while standing, i. e., is motionless. The structural temples in Ponāgadam, Virathāneśvara in Tiruttani, Dharmesvara in Maṇimaṅgalam, are 'gajapriṣṭhākṛiti' or 'hastipriṣṭhākṛiti' in shape.

of steps ( 'sopānas' or 'paḍikkaṭṭu' ) on either side. The Mahāmaṇḍapa in front of the transept is a closed structure and is continued into the 'agramaṇḍapa' which has a portico or 'mukhamaṇḍapa' on its south side. All these structures are likewise raised on a ground table or 'upapīṭha'. The sides of 'upapīṭha' and 'pīṭha' are decorated at intervals by a series of miniature shrines. The pilasters cantoning the corners of this base are of the early type, square throughout. The floor ( 'kuṛaḍu' ) of the portico is reached by a flight of steps ( 'sopāna' ) on east and west with a balustrade on their sides. Such 'maṇḍapas' are on that account also called 'sopānamaṇḍapas'. The 'sopānamaṇḍapa' is designed in the form of a wheeled chariot drawn by horses.<sup>1</sup> The wheels are sculptured on the sides of the 'upapīṭha', one on each and one in the west with a prancing steed in front of each. The balustrade portrays the trunk of an elephant above and a full elephant below and is placed behind the wheel on either side.

On the north of the 'agramaṇḍapa' is a shrine for Pārvaṭī facing the portico. The numerous pillars of this 'maṇḍapa' as also those of the portico have attached pilasters on their sides with 'yālis' ( vyāla ) and elephants as their bases. This is an instance of the early type of composite pillars or 'aṇṇiyotṭikkāl'. The corbels over these pillars inside as well as those on the pilasters on its outer walls show the gradual transition to the next stage of their evolution with the central tenon assuming a campanulate floral form—the 'palastara' and 'pūmunai', the precursor of the late elaborate 'puṣpabodigais' of the Pāṇḍya, Vijayanagar, Nayak and modern periods. The anticipation of the characteristic feature of the Pāṇḍya period in the 'maṇḍapa' of this temple is significant of the transition stage.

Built against the south wall of the 'mahāmaṇḍapa' is the shrine for Śarabhamūrti, a peculiar iconographic conception of Śiva.<sup>2</sup> The Śarabha shrine is similarly raised on a double plinth ( 'upapīṭha' and 'pīṭha' ) and has a small pillared portico in front reached by a flight of steps on its east with 'śuruḷ-yāli' balustrades.

What is most striking is the series of 'pañjaras' of the three types,

1. As in Konarak, Tiruvārūr and Hampi.

2. 'Hindu Iconography', T. A. G. Rao, Vol. II, part 3, pp.171-174.

square ( 'karnakūdu' ), rectangular ( 'śāla' ) and apsidal ended ( gajapriṣṭha ), alternating with each other and set in a line, over the 'vyāla' frieze along the edges on three sides of the terrace over the 'mahamaṇḍapa' and 'agramaṇḍapa' in continuation of the 'pañjaras' of the first 'tala' of the 'vimāna' and 'ardhamaṇḍapa'. The extension of the 'pañjaras' of the first 'tala' over the front 'maṇḍapas' also is strongly reminiscent of the Cālukyan temples. The only other instance of this is the Vijayālaya-coḷīśvaram, where the 'maṇḍapa' in front of the 'vṛitta' type shrine serves the purpose of 'antarāla' as well as 'mukhamaṇḍapa'. Curiously enough the portico in Airāvateśvara does not carry such 'pañjaras' on its terrace but a parapet having a row of 'nandīs' on top.

In front of the 'agramaṇḍapa' is a small 'nandī' shrine and a 'balipīṭha' showing early characteristics of the Tanjore type in their square pilasters and bevel and tenon corbels. While these appear to be remnants of an earlier, smaller temple on the spot, their flights of steps and their balustrade have been attached later and show carvings and motifs similar to the other structures.

In the court to the north of the 'ardhamaṇḍapa' is the shrine of Caṇḍeśvara, the seneschal of Śiva. This seems to have been built simultaneously with the main 'vimāna'. In its plan and execution it conforms to the features of the Bṛihadīśvaras in Tanjore and Gaṅgaikoṇḍa-Coḷapuram, for instance the early features shown by its corbels which have the bevel and tenon of the Tanjore type, while some even show the vanishing stages of the 'taraṅga' ornament. It looks as if this lesser shrine was in the hands of minor 'sthapatis' who during its renovation had to be conservative and utilise the old material or faithfully confine themselves to accepted canons in copying the old while the main 'vimāna' was replanned and executed by greater Śilpācāryas who could very well introduce innovations and create new modes as seen in the shape of the corbels developing the floriated 'madalai' in their bevelled part and the transformation of the tenon into the 'palastara' and rudimentary 'pūmunai' and in many other architectural motifs and components.

Round the court is a peristylar cloister ( 'tiruccuṟṟālai' ) which is of the same period and in which about six sub-shrines or 'parivārālayas' are now traceable in the length of the pillared hall.

Separated from the axial group and in front of it to its north is another shrine of Pārvatī, which is locally called the Daivanāyaki shrine. It is of the same style as the main 'vimāna' in essential features. The 'upa-pīṭha' which resembles the Airāvateśvara is buried in the flooring of the court. The shrine is square with 'ardhamaṇḍapa' and 'mahāmaṇḍapa' on the same plinth of narrower width in front. The shrine has three bays on the centres of its three sides. While the 'pīṭhas' of these bays and 'mahāmaṇḍapa' have a plain and prominent dado and an octagonal 'kumuda', the 'pīṭha' of the chases of the shrine and that of the 'ardhamaṇḍapa' have a stepped up 'upāna' with a 'padmadala jagatī' and a rounded torus or 'kumuda'. The main pilasters on the walls have rampant lion bases and polygonal shafts. The capital members resemble those of the main temple, all polygonal except the square 'palagai'. The pilasters flanking 'devakoṣṭhas' are tetragonal without lion bases. The superstructure rises in two 'talas' over shrine and 'ardhamaṇḍapa' with 'pañjaras' as usual, but the 'grīva' is rectangular and the 'śikhara' is of the 'śāla' type, the front 'kūḍu' projected in front and superposed on the 'talas' over the 'ardhamaṇḍapa'. Such a type of superstructure is rarely met with in earlier Coḷa shrines except in a few 'āyatāśra vimānas' though common in later times. This Devī shrine or 'tirukkāmakottam'<sup>1</sup> as it is called, seems to be a slightly later addition, perhaps of the time of Kulottuṅga III. The 'devakoṣṭhas' contain 'devī' images.

Nothing important remains of the outer courts, except one of the 'gopuras', the inner one in front of the temple and a tank outside the first court (250 ft. wide). The outer 'gopura' is in ruins. One of these two 'gopuras', very likely the outer one, is called in one of the inscriptions, on a loose stone slab among the ruins, Īgai-Mūvendiraiyan tiru-gopuram. The most interesting are the inscriptions

1. The 'devī' shrines or 'tirukkāmakottam' were later additions to all the early Pallava and Coḷa temples. Such additions to already existing temples begin from about the 11th century A. D. and in the temples of this time onwards we have many examples of contemporary construction of the 'kāmakottam'. The great temple in Tanjore had its 'Amman' or 'devī' shrine added in the 13th century A. D. See "Tirukkāmakottam (in the South Indian Temples)", contributed to the 13th session of the All India Oriental Conference, Nagpur (1946).

on the niches below the outer gopura, which are mostly empty at present, and which must have contained images of gods whose names the inscriptions denote.<sup>1</sup> The inner gopura is 'āyatāśra' in plan with a squat rectangular superstructure of two 'talas' and a 'śāla' type 'śikhara' over the 'grīva'.

Thus stylistically this temple complex marks in its mixed components all the stages of transition from the Tanjore and Gaṅgaikonda-Colapuram types to the great temples of the post-Coḷa epochs.

Though the context will not permit a detailed consideration of all the sculptures in these temples, mention may be made at least of a few. The sculptures are all in black stone, modelled with exquisite features and placed in the niches of the 'devakoṣṭhas' of the 'vimāna', 'ardha', 'mahā' and 'agramaṇḍapas', in the 'pañjaras' above and in the cloister all round. As usual in all the South Indian temples the central bays bearing the principal 'devakoṣṭhas' on the south, west and north walls of the 'vimāna' enshrine Dakṣiṇāmūrti, Liṅgodbhava and Brahmā in the order mentioned, while those on the south and north walls of the 'ardhamāṇḍapa' are dedicated to Durgā and Gaṇeśa. The other niches contain forms of Śiva, as an ascetic, Bhairava Gajāri, Kirāta, Vīrabhadra and Ardhanārī besides sculptures of Devī viz. Mahiṣamardani, Annapūrṇa, and others such as Āgastya and Kubera. The most interesting iconographically (next only to the Śarabha) is the Trimūrti Ardhanārī form which combines the triune headed Śiva, and Devī, the latter occupying the left half of the middle figure. This is a unique combination of two forms of Śiva, Trimūrti and Ardhanārī. The interesting sculptures in the Agramaṇḍapa are Sarasvatī, Nandikeśvara standing in 'añjali' and bearing all the attributes of Śiva, viz. 'paraśu', and 'mṛga' and with a human head (this is the 'sarūpya' form), Kaṇṇappa (the Śaiva devotee), Lakṣmī and Subrahmaṇya with 5 faces and 6 arms. In the cloister are found sculptures of the 110 Śivācāryas with inscribed labels, a

1. The name of the gopura is given in No. 25 of 1908. The names of the deities in the niches mentioned in the inscriptions are 36 in number. (For list see Annual Report on Epigraphy, Madras. 1908, p. 81, paragraph 68.) The script of the labels resembles that of the labels on the panels of the shrine inside.

sculpture of Kaṅkalamūrti and of women, probably royal ladies, of beautiful form and elegant postures. The most noteworthy are the two portrait sculptures of Rājaraḥa II and his Devī, the founders of the temple. The Periyapurāṇam panels on the 'vari' of the 'vimāna' have already been noticed before. In addition to forming an interesting subject for the study of architecture this temple offers a fine gallery of sculptures which attract attention both from the artistic and iconographic points of view.

## 2. THE KAMPAHAREŚVARA

The Kampahareśvara, called Tribhuvanavīrīśvaram in its inscriptions was built by Kulottuṅga Coḷa III, Tribhuvanavīra ( 1178-1223 A. D. ), the last of the great Coḷa kings. Though the temple is now generally called Kampahareśvara the place still retains the name of Tribhuvanam, short for its old name of Tribhuvanavīrapuram.<sup>1</sup>

The entire structure rests on a decorated plinth or 'upapīṭha' as in Dārāsuram and axially consists of the 'śrīvimāna', the 'ardhamāṇḍapa', the 'idāṅgaḷi' ( transept ), the 'mahāmāṇḍapa' and the 'agramaṇḍapa' on a west to east line, the 'agramaṇḍapa' having its entrance porch on the south.

The lowermost exposed member of the 'upapīṭha' is a 'padmadala' base corresponding to an expanding lotus of which the temple forms the 'kośa'.<sup>2</sup> Over this runs a 'vyālavari' and interposed between this and the

1. A. R. E. 190, 191 and 192 of 1907 and the Inscriptions of the Pudukkōṭṭai State, Nos. 163 and 166. The temple built by Kulottuṅga III was consecrated by his guru, Someśvara or Īśvara Śiva, the author of 'Siddhānta Ratnākara'. His three Sanskrit inscriptions from the Tribhuvanam temple ( Nos. 190, 191, 192 of 1907 ), one on the shrine wall and the two others on the 'gopuram', mention Kulottuṅga's various building activities and say that this king built this "Tribhuvanavīreśvara, the brilliant tall and excellent 'vimāna' of which interrupts the Sun ( in his course )". The two Tamil 'praśastis' from Pudukkōṭṭai ( Nos. 163, 166 ) say that he "built the Tribhuvanavīraiśvaram for the 'Iraivar' ( Lord Śiva ), who was adored by 'Ari' ( Viṣṇu ) and 'Piramar' ( Brāhmā ), so that the whole world may worship and praise Him". For a list of the other buildings which he erected or repaired see paragraphs 66-65, pp. 80-81, "Annual Report on Epigraphy, 1928" and "Inscriptions in the Pudukkōṭṭai State", Translated into English by K. R. Srinivasan, Part II ( 1926 ) pp. 137, 143, 144, 148 and 152.

2. The stepped up 'upāna', the lowermost course of the 'jagatī', seems to be buried below the flag stones of the courtyard all round.

'kapota' or sur-base is a vertical block plinth or dado, the surface of which is panelled out by a series of pilaster strips. While the pilaster strips are adorned by scroll work ( koḍikkarukku ) the panels in between them in the shrine and 'ardhamanḍapa' parts, contain dancing figures depicting different poses of 'Bhārata nāṭya' with drummers and other musicians of the 'mela' accompaniment and riders on 'vyālas', lions and elephants as elsewhere. The panels of this dado below the transept and front 'manḍapas' depict mostly elephants, 'vyālas' and other animals and human figures some riding on them. The 'kapota' or 'surbase' over this is decorated as usual with a series of 'kūḍus' or gable arches with 'siṃhamukha' finials and the intervening spaces as well as the corners have scroll ornamentation of creepers with foliage and flowers. The 'upapīṭha' of the shrine has two sunken recesses on either side of the central bays of each face, which accommodate bas-relief miniatures of shrines. There are two such on either side of the balustrade of the steps leading up to the transept.

The structure on top of this plinth occupies a smaller area, leaving a walk or 'āloḍi' all round. The 'vimāna' is essentially 'samacaturāśra'. The 'adīṣṭhāna' has a stepped up 'upāna' of three plain tiers, over which rests the cyma base, or 'padmapīṭha'. A short, but sharp, intervening neck or constriction marks off the next tier or 'paḍai', the 'kumudappaḍai' which is a rounded moulding embellished by flutings or vertical grooves. Above and below this 'kumuda' are linear series of small petals. The vertical face of the 'kaṇṭha' over this is again divided into a series of panels by means of pilaster strips placed at intervals. These panels show figures of 'bhūtas' and 'gaṇas' in different postures of dance and merriment. The top of the 'adīṣṭhāna' is capped by a 'kapota', resembling the one below and carrying a frieze of 'vyālas' which project beyond the corners in the form of 'makara' heads.

The square sides of the 'adīṣṭhāna' as well as the walls of the shrine are drawn out into five bays with four alternating recesses on each side as in the Dārāśuram temple, the central bay on each side thrust out more prominently than the others. The central and corner bays accommodate 'devakoṣṭhas'. The 'devakoṣṭha' on the central bay on the south is dedicated to Dakṣiṇāmūrti, that on the west enshrines a Liṅgodbhava

and the original sculpture of Brahmā on the north has been replaced by a later and smaller sculpture of the same deity. The main pilasters cantoning the bays ( 'kuṭṭiyakkāls' ) have square bases, octagonal shafts with 'nāgapadaṁs' at the scape and octagonal capital components on top. The doucine below the abacus or 'palagai', which still retains its large size and square form, is an octagonal inverted lotus with petals—the real 'idaḷ'. The square abacus as in Dārāśuram and other later Coḷa temples is thinner in contrast to the thick massive ones of the Pallava and early Coḷa temples including Tanjore. The corbel is an early type of 'puṣpa-bodika', the earlier angular central tenon completely transformed into an inverted and campanulate 'palastara' and the bevellings on either side developed into curved up and floriated 'madalais'. This marks a definite advance over the corbels of the Airāvateśvara. The shorter pilasters, 'koṣṭhasthambas', at the openings of the niches in the 'devakoṣṭhas' have similar bases and 'nāgapadaṁs', but 16-sided shafts. Those on the central niches support a wagon-top or 'śālā' type 'śikhara' while the others have a projecting roof plank surmounted by a 'kūḍu' arch. The chases are adorned by 'kumbha pañjara' motifs in relief.

The beam over the corbels of the main pilasters supports numerous rafter ends and bent brackets or modillions, resting on small corbels, and purlins which seemingly hold the curved 'kapota' or 'koduṅgai', all imitating in stone the timbering below the curved metallic eaves board of the brick and timber prototype. The lower edge of the 'koduṅgai' or cornice is decorated by a line of circular medallions, while the face has larger 'kūḍu' arches spaced out between 'yāli' figures and 'karukku' at the corners.

The central projecting bays on the north and south walls of the 'ardhamanḍapa' also accommodate 'devakoṣṭhas', similar to those on the walls of the shrines. These enshrine Durgā on the north and Gaṇeśa on the south as usual. The recesses on either side of these central bays are pierced by rectangular windows, 'palakaṇi' or 'śālakam' ( jālaka ), framed by semi-pilasters on the sides and a 'toraṇa' arch above. The bays on the front ends of the 'ardhamanḍapa' have shallow niches with 'toraṇa' arches on top and the recesses at the extreme front have each 'kumbha-pañjara' reliefs. The 'ardhamanḍapa' is of lesser width



than the shrine, as in Dārāśuram thereby exposing to view parts of the front wall of the shrine proper on either side which contain 'devakoṣṭhas'. In these two 'devakoṣṭhas' are to be seen warrior figures (Śiva gaṇas) holding sword and shield.

The superstructure rises in the form of a tapering pyramid consisting of six 'talas' or 'mādams' of gradually diminishing size. The two lowermost ones extend over the top of the 'ardhamanḍapa' as we have noticed in the Airāvateśvara and the Bṛihadīśvaras. Similarly the central 'pañjaras' in the girdle round each 'tala' of the shrine and 'ardhamanḍapa' are 'āyatāśra' or 'śālā' type, the corner ones or 'karnakūḍus' are 'samacaturāśra' and the intermediary ones may be described as the front views of the 'gajapriṣṭhākṛiti' type. A very striking feature is the presence of two stout circular pilasters placed one on either side of the 'koṣṭha' in the central 'pañjara' of the first storey over the shrine. These pilasters carry a 'kūḍu' <sup>1</sup> on top. This is a motif coming down from the Pallava times and is to be seen in a few of the early Coḷa temples as well.<sup>2</sup> The recesses, between these projecting 'pañjaras' have miniature shrines in relief.

The 'grīvā' placed on the topmost square 'tala', is circular or drum-shaped carrying a domical 'śikhara'. The upper storeys of this 'vīmāna' including the 'grīvā' and 'śikhara' are apparently of brick and mortar while the rest of the entire construction is of cut stone.

The 'idaikaḷi' in front of the 'ardhamanḍapa' has flights of steps at its north and south ends guarded by 'śurul-yāli' balustrades.

The main pilasters on the walls of the 'mahāmanḍapa' and 'agramanḍapa' have square bases with 'nāgapadaṃ' motifs at the four top corners from amidst which spring the octagonal shafts terminating

1. See Gaṇeśa-ratha in Māmallapuram. The end face of the 'śālā' type 'śikhara' bears such a pilaster.

2. Such early Coḷa temples are the Tiru-Ananteśvarattu-Ālvār temple in Uḍaiyārguḍi, South Arcot District built before 940 A. D., the Mūvarkovil in Koḍumbālūr, Puḍukkoṭṭai, built between 956 and 973 A. D. and the Naltunai Īśvara in Puñjai, Tanjore District, built about 960 A. D.

in capitals, the members<sup>1</sup> of which are of similar octagonal section. The 'idaḷ' is well formed, the 'palagai' or abacus continues to be square and the corbels are of the early 'puṣpa-bodika' type as found elsewhere. The niches on the projections of the surface of the walls have shorter pilasters with the same square bases and 'nāgapadaṁs' at the scape, but sixteen-sided shafts and capitals, square abacus and, what is more important, corbels of the earlier type with a plain median tenon and the two lateral bevels showing faintly the 'taraṅga' ornament. This will be one more instance to show that these two temples besides marking the end of the Coḷa phase show transition features in their architectural motifs leading on to the next series of the Pāṇḍya and Vijayanagar phases. The projecting cornices over these niches on the 'mahā' and 'agramaṇḍapa' wall are surmounted by 'pañjara' reliefs with large 'kūḍus' enclosing miniature models of shrines. The niches on the recessed parts of the walls have short pilasters with square bases and 'nāgapadaṁs' and circular 'kāls' and capitals. They bear no corbels and the projecting shelves above them carry 'toraṇa' arches.

The 'upapīṭha' and 'adhiṣṭhāna' of these two 'maṇḍapas' have on their sides a regularly disposed series of bas-relief miniature shrines. The portico on the south of the 'agramaṇḍapa' is of the same type as in the Airāvateśvara, but in place of the lion and elephant based pillars we have simple ornamental pillars. The portico itself is fashioned as a many-wheeled chariot with two elephants in front of the balustrade of the 'sopāna' on the east. The projecting axles are supported by rampant lions; the detachable wheels are missing. On the west of the projecting portico is a Somāskanda shrine<sup>2</sup> of plainer architecture, of the earlier period; for instance its pilasters are square throughout, the 'idaḷ' is petalled and the corbels have bevel and tenon.

In the shrine that corresponds to the Śarabha shrine of the Airāvateśvara on the south wall of the 'mahāmaṇḍapa' there is a stucco figure of a chief

1. 'Padmabhanda', 'kalāśa', 'tāḍi', 'kumbha' and 'idaḷ'.

2. Such shrines dedicated to Somāskanda, where the 'utsavabheras' of Somāskanda in bronze are also usually kept, are popularly called Tyāgarāja shrines after the famous one in Tiruvārūr. These become common in the Tanjore district and surrounding areas from about this time.

The 'Tirukkāmakōṭṭam' or Devī shrine<sup>1</sup> in front on the north has its 'upapiṭṭha' practically buried in the flooring. The 'adhiṣṭhāna' has a 'padmadala' base and a polygonal 'kumuda' moulding and the 'kaṇṭha' is plain. The pilasters on its walls have square bases with 'nāgapadaṁs', the 'kāl' and capital members up to the 'idaḷ vari' are octagonal while the 'palagai' remains square and the corbel is of the early 'puṣpapodika' variety. In the recesses of the walls are to be found decorative pilasters of the type seen in Tanjore which differ from the 'kumbha-pañjaras' in not having a typical 'pañjara' top.

The Caṇḍéśvara shrine to the north of the 'vimāna', shows certain advanced characters, unlike its counterpart in the Airāvateśvara which shows some features earlier than those of the 'vimāna'. The 'adhiṣṭhāna' has the 'padmadala' base and a semicircularly moulded 'kumuda'. The pilasters have square bases, octagonal shafts and capital members, including the abacus, and the corbels are primitive 'puṣpabodikas'. The characteristic square nature of the abacus beginning from the Pallava period and persisting throughout the following Coḷa period becomes lost in the succeeding epochs when the abacus also conforms in section and shape to the other members of the capital and shaft below. Here, in a temple where in the major structures the abacus remains square, irrespective of the shapes of the parts below it, we find such a variation in this accessory shrine.<sup>2</sup> This temple also is a veritable sculpture gallery of varied iconography.

The 'gopuras' in front of the enclosing wall or 'tirumadil' are still extant. While the inner one is ruined on top the outer or main 'gopura'

1. Called popularly 'Ammankovil' or 'Amman' ( Devī or mother's ) shrine in Tamil.

2. Among the vast array of Coḷa temples we find here and there that the abacus of the pilasters, especially the shorter ones flanking niches, are not square but take the shape of the capital members below. These are rather exceptional. But the general form throughout seems to be a square abacus, very thick and massive in Pallava and early Coḷa times and thinner in later Coḷa times. For sometime extending up to the early Coḷa period the doucine below the square 'palagai' which is called the 'padma' ( and which did not yet become polypetalous to deserve the later name of 'idaḷ' ) also had the square shape of the abacus even though the shaft and capital components were not square in section. Such square pilasters with square 'palagais' are seen to persist till late times in the minor parts of the main structure, on the super structures of the 'vimāna' and in the 'upapiṭṭha' and 'adhiṣṭhāna'. They are seen for instance in the cantoning pilasters of the pedestal of the 'mahāmaṇḍapa' in Dārāsuram.

is complete. There is another ruined 'gopura' on the west behind the temple. They are all squat, rectangular based structures much like the Tanjore 'gopura' and nothing compared in size to the great pylons of the Pāṇḍyas of the second empire who came to wield almost absolute power after Kulottuṅga III. Still in the Kampahareśvara, as in the Airāvateśvara, the Bṛihadīśvaras and the earlier Coḷa temples, the 'vimāna' was the dominant structure of the composition of the temple unit and the 'gopuras' were subordinate in size and importance. The gradation of magnitude and importance was centripetal. The Kampahareśvara is perhaps one of the few last of this series. For even in the time of Kulottuṅga III. except in this great and complete temple of his, the emphasis shifted from the 'vimāna' to the 'gopura' and he constructed a few also of that type thereby inaugurating the centrifugal tendency in the gradation of magnitude. The Pāṇḍya and Vijayanagar kings, who followed, continued this practice of building great 'gopuras' for existing temples, since they found that this was a direction in which they could add to the grandeur and glory of the temples already built by the Pallava and Coḷas of old in the various places of sanctity without renovating them totally except in cases where necessary. The 'gopura' thus came to assume such an importance that in Vijayanagar times even in the case of entirely new constructions of temple units the 'gopuras' predominated in size over the 'vimāna'. Thus came into being such renowned but later temple units as Tiruvārūr, Madura and Śrīraṅgam where there is observable a descending gradation from the outermost 'gopura' of the many-walled temple unit to the central 'vimāna'.

Considered from all points of view we have in these two Coḷa temples the culminating phase of Coḷa architecture and sculpture in the south and these two examples therefore occupy a unique place in the series of South Indian temples. While in their essential architectural composition and disposition in plan they may be said to have much in common with the two large earlier temples in Tanjore and Gaṅgaikonda-Coḷapūram, and all the four look much alike when seen from a distance, yet in many of their architectural components can be noticed, on a closer view, a transformation in shapes which herald the development of the characteristic styles of the succeeding epoch of temple architecture of the

Drāviḍa order. These transitory features are noticeable in the pilasters where, while their shafts and capital members undergo changes in shape, the base and abacus are conservative, the 'padma' develops into the 'idaḷ', the rudimentary 'nāgapadaṁs' make their appearance and the corbel tends to change into 'puṣṭapodikai'. The presence of the early type 'kumbha-pañjaras' in place of the decorative pilasters of the Tanjore type in the recesses of the walls is an additional feature of interest. It must be remembered here that the advent of this Coḷa-Cāḷukya line of kings brought about closer relations between the south and the Cāḷukyan territories and therefore the possibilities of mutual influence and the evolution of new ideas, forms and motifs can not be overlooked. Side by side the contact with the Hoysalas, who were growing into a contemporary power and had a large part to play in the politics resulting from the conflicts between the Coḷas and the resurgent Pāṇḍyas, their matrimonial alliances with both the houses, and the establishment of a Hoysala state right in the heart of the Coḷa country at Kaṇṇanūr for a time is another possible source of contact and fresh ideas. But it must be said that in spite of these political and dynastic contacts the Drāviḍa style of architecture maintained its purity and continuity in its essential features ; whatever Cāḷukya or Hoysala influences there might have been perhaps helped to a slight extent in shaping modified forms out of existing originals.

We see in the Dārāśuram temple 'maṇḍapa' perhaps for the first time in South India, the conception of a wheeled chariot. The re-introduction of lion bases in the pillars, which we had before in the later Pallava period ( 650-800 A. D. ), after a lapse of a few centuries, is a noteworthy case of reversion to older forms. In Dārāśuram we have pillars in the 'maṇḍapa' with both lions and elephants in relief at the bases, while the Daivanāyakī shrine has typical lion pillars. We see them in the opening of the pyramidal parts of 'gopuras' in temples of this and later periods, e. g. in Tiruvārūr, Jambukeśvaram, Śrīraṅgam, etc. The ornate pillars inside the 'maṇḍapas' and cloisters of the temples are the forerunners of the 'aniyottikkāls' of later temples.

After such a detailed consideration of these two great Coḷa temples we have to slightly modify the scheme of dates and names

of periods in the Drāviḍa order of temples enunciated in outline by the late Prof. J. Dubreuil and adopted generally by scholars after him. According to him the Coḷa style ends with 1100 A. D. and what follows will be the Pāṇḍya style, 1100-1350 A. D. Historically the Coḷa line, revitalised by the infusion of Cālukya blood on the accession of Kulottuṅga I, continued till the close of the reign of the last king Rājendra III (1246-1279 A. D.) though as an imperial power the Coḷas lost their place towards the closing years of Kulottuṅga III (1178-1216 A. D.). Till the beginning of the second quarter of the 13th century A. D., therefore, they were a great power in the south and continued their building activities and made the greatest contribution to the arts of the country.

The two temples amply prove this. Obviously the Coḷa period of temple architecture will therefore take us to the close of the 12th century, if not to the first quarter of the 13th. This Coḷa period may be said to be divided into two phases, the Imperial Coḷa phase or early Coḷa phase from Vijayālaya to Kulottuṅga I (850-1070 A. D.) and the Coḷa-Cālukya or later Coḷa phase from Kulottuṅga I to Kulottuṅga III (1070-1216 A. D.). The second Pāṇḍya Empire may be said to begin actually at the close of the reign of Kulottuṅga III (1216 A. D.) which also marks the accession to power of Māṇavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya after his conquest of the Coḷa country which practically terminated the period of the power and authority of the Coḷas. Thus only those temples and constructions dating after 1216, when the Pāṇḍyas were really in a position to contribute to the art and architecture of the south can be precisely attributed to the Pāṇḍyas. Accordingly the Pāṇḍya style will date from about 1205 to about 1400 which includes the period of the ephemeral Sultanate of Madura, its extinction and the assumption of imperial titles by Hari Hara II in 1376 A. D. marking the beginning of Vijayanagar rule in the South.

## ANCIENT INDIAN IVORIES FROM BEGRĀM AFGHANISTAN

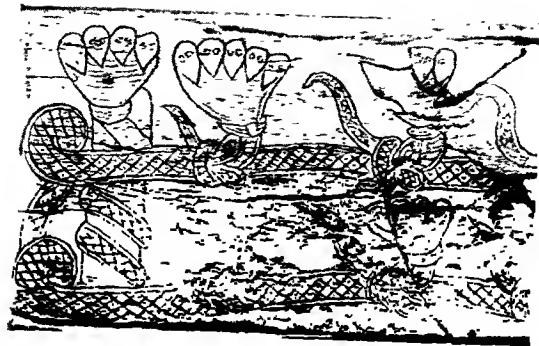
by JEANNINE AUBOYER

Joseph and Ria Hackin have published the results of their 'Recherches archéologiques a Begrām' in vol. 9 of the 'Mémoires de la Délégation archéologique Française en Afghanistan' which appeared in Paris in 1939. These archaeological researches were carried out in a part of present-day Afghanistan which European travellers had already visited in the early days of the 19th century. It was Joseph Hackin's privilege, nevertheless, to wrest its secrets from the soil of Begrām, identified as being the Kapiśī of Hiuan-Tsang, the ancient summer residence of the kings of the Kuṣāṇas.

After their first brilliant excavations of 1937, J. and R. Hackin went on a second expedition in 1939/40 accompanied by Jean Carl. Unfortunately they did not have time to publish their results, as they found a glorious death on the 24th February 1941, answering the call of Free France.

The Musée Guimet took upon itself to publish the results of the last excavations of him who had been its Curator from 1923 to 1941. A new issue (vol. 11) of the 'Mémoires de la Délégation archéologique Française en Afghanistan' containing posthumous notes of J. Hackin and contributions by his collaborators is now in preparation ; this volume will be published simultaneously with a similar work produced by the Warburg Institute of London, to which J. Hackin had entrusted his notes concerning the Hellenistic objects which he had found at Begrām.

It is no doubt unnecessary to stress the interest of these first excavations in Begrām ; we know that they had vindicated the importance of the capital of ancient Kapiśī in regard to Eurasiatic trade in the time of the Kuṣāṇas. It will be remembered that the excavators had found in one and the same chamber of No. 2 site, Syrian or Alexandrian glassware, bronzes of Hellenistic influence, and ivories of undisputable Indian origin. During



B



A



C







the 1939/40 spell, more bronzes, Hellenistic plaster and fragments of Chinese lacquers were added to this collection ; and especially a new lot of ivories which has considerably increased the series previously gathered.<sup>1</sup>

These ivories are most interesting. On the one hand they fill a blank since, apart from textual information, we had very little knowledge concerning sculpture on ivory in India ; on the other, they supply valuable data as regards their use. In 1939/40 a stool ( Chamber No. 13, lot No. 34 ) was added to the caskets found in 1937 ; the excavators were able to reconstitute it by taking exact measurements of its imprint, in spite of the fact that the wooden frame had entirely crumbled away ; the shape of its back was that which the reliefs of Amarāvati and elsewhere have familiarised us with ; that is to say, it is topped by an arched cross-bar, slightly concave and projecting, attached to the uprights by arched supports carved on both sides. The ivory and bone plaques are secured on the framework by means of brass nails ; large sheets of mica are inserted between the wood and the ivory. The whole structure is held together by means of inch-long iron nails, and reinforced at the extremities by long brass clamps. This back, 1 foot 1 inch long, is decorated on both sides ; plaques representing figures, animals, plants, geometrical designs, some of them set-off in red and black, alternate with balustrades of the Buddhistic 'vedikā' type.

On closer examination it appears that these Begrām ivories date back from the 2nd and 3rd centuries A. D. ; they seem to have been together with the other Hellenistic and Chinese objects found on this site, part of a kind of "collection", the most astonishing yet discovered in our time. It is quite likely that they belonged to some rich inhabitant of Kapiśi in the days of Kuṣāṇa domination, circa. 241 A. D., at the time when the approach of the Iranian armies of Shāhpur caused panic throughout the country-side. The proprietor must, thereupon, have stored all those

1. The inscriptions on the pillar of the Sanchi South Torana testifies to the existence of ivory-sculptors gilds (daṁtakāra) in India (cf. Sir John Marshall and Alfred Foucher, 'The Monuments of Sanchi', Bhopal 1947, I, page 297). On the other hand from various other sources, ivory was utilised from an early date for the decoration of doors, statues, and toranas (Mṛcchakatika, IV, 28-30) furniture (Mahāvamśa, XXVII 82 sq., trans. Geiger and Bode, p. 184 ; 'Mānasāra' XI IV, 75-77, Trans. Acharya, Vol. V. p. 455 ; Majumdar, 'Hearth and Home' ; 'Indian Culture', Vol. III, Jan. 1937, p. 440). Also cf. Coomaraswamy, 'The Arts and Crafts of India and Ceylon', Brussels, 1924, p.p. 141.

movable goods which were too delicate or too cumbersome for him to take away, in a chamber which was so well walled up that it had, so far, escaped the attentions of the invaders and plunderers.

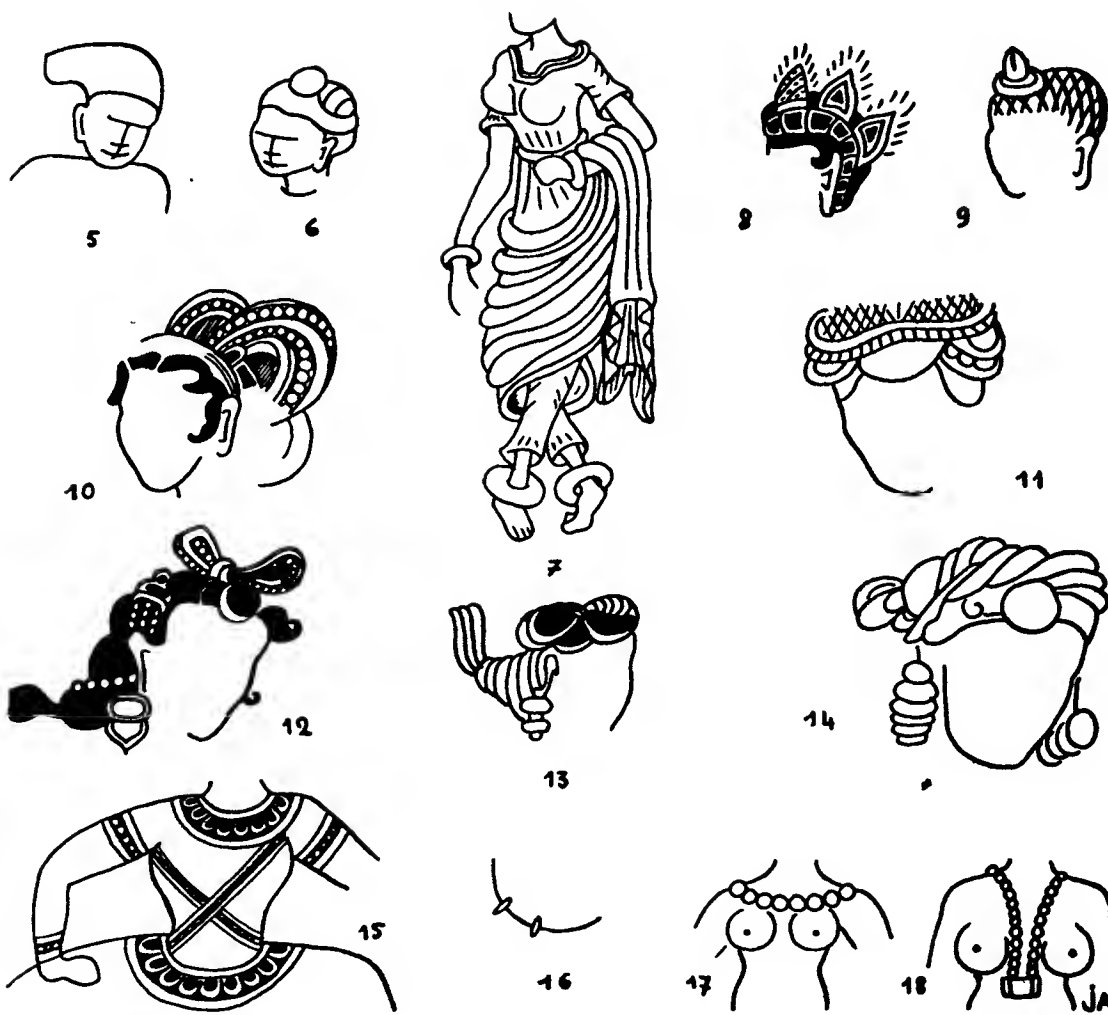
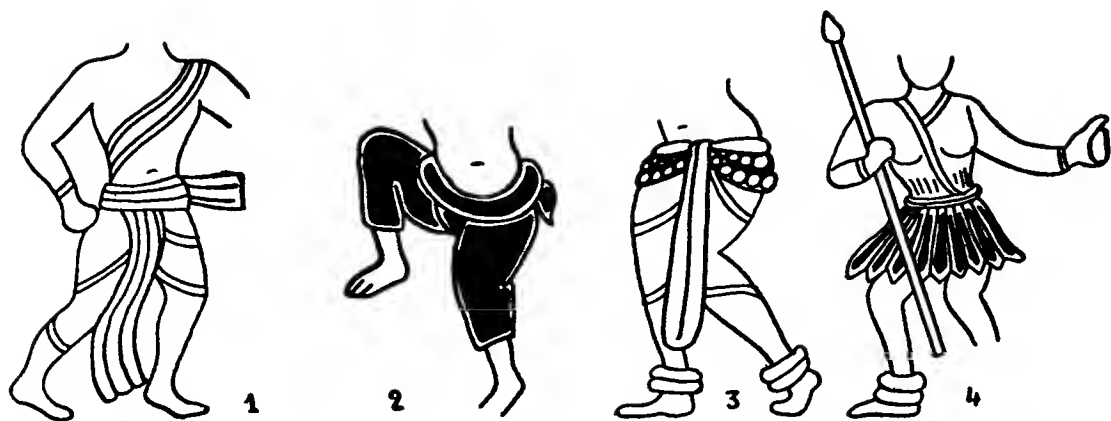
The study of Indian ivories can now be carried out upon 600 specimens, thanks to the two expeditions of J. Hackin. Leaving Mr. Ph. Stern and Mrs. Monod-Brühl, respectively Curator and Assistant of the Musée Guimet, to study their style and connections,<sup>1</sup> we will endeavour to extract the various information which these ivories can disclose upon the various aspects of Indian life<sup>2</sup>.

The most striking fact about this collection is the nearly constant absence of male figures.<sup>3</sup> One or two Rājās, a *syce*, few horsemen, hunters, servants and some mythical characters are all that are to be found. It is quite possible that this absence of male figures was deliberate and that it corresponds to the well-known fact that no man—except the

1. The studies will appear in Vol. XI of the 'Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique Française on Afghanistan'. Without wishing to anticipate, one can say that it seems evident that these ivories belong to the same period, and that the differences between them which may be found are due more to differences of technique and style than to a notable chronological difference. Except a small lot (numbered 'A' to 'H') of a very special style, the ivories can be grouped in various categories according to their extremely varied techniques, treatment and skill of execution. It would seem that they were made in a number of workshops and by workmen of varied temperaments. But we must underline that the typical details are to be found indifferently in all the categories, which proves their contemporaneity. On the other hand as regards the assembling of plaques on the caskets and stools, the unity of each series has not been taken into account and some plaques have been found which manifestly belong to a same narrative and stylistic series and were employed for the ornamentation of different objects; inversely, various styles are found on a same object.

2. I cannot sufficiently stress to what degree this study, which would appear under a more complete form in Vol. XI of the "Mémoires de la D. A. F. A.," owes to the remarkable work of Mr. Sivaramamurti, "Amarāvati Sculptures in the Madras Government Museum", which appeared in 1942 in the Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum. Mr. Sivaramamurti has therein made a study which is very similar to that which I had myself undertaken at that time, and of which I had given the first results at the Ecole du Louvre during the session 1941/42, while I was assuming the functions of Deputy Professor. This "archaeological encounter", unknown to its authors uptill now, proves that Indian researches have come to a stage where one can—and must—pursue the inventory of the material culture of ancient India whilst supporting the plastic figurations by literary proofs.

3. It is no doubt useful to specify that, owing to the agreement between the D. A. F. A. and the Afghan Government, all exceptional pieces found in the excavations are given to the Kabul Museum and that the remainder is divided between that Museum and the Musée Guimet in Paris (East Asiatic Art section of the French National Museums). The documentation upon which we have based our work includes the whole of the discoveries during both periods.





master and the aged guardian (kañcukī) of the gynaeceum—could have access to the private apartments reserved to women. Was not this interdiction applicable to the decorations of these apartments ?<sup>1</sup> If so, one might conclude that these ivory plaques found in Begrām belonged to these private quarters.

Nothing can be found in the examination of these plaques which can disprove this hypothesis : In most cases the setting of the scenes themselves, the figures, and even the animals and the vegetation, are all in accordance with what is to be found in the Sanskrit and Pāli texts describing the women's quarters (Pl. IV, fig. d),<sup>2</sup> What do these texts teach us ? Having passed the gates of the town guarded by soldiers-in-arms and followed the main thoroughfare towards its centre,<sup>3</sup> one reaches the palace and the aristocratic dwellings. The royal, princely, or noble abode, a closed world within a closed city, has the appearance of a Roman villa with its many buildings and successive courts ; the last of these—the 8th according to the 'Mṛcchakaṭika IV, 28/30—is set aside for the Master of the house's (gṛhakāraka) private apartments (kūṭāgāra). which include the gynaeceum (suddhānta, antaḥpura patinām, sadana). The latter has its own lotus pools, its private entrances, and egresses, its interior courts, halls and gardens (vṛkṣavāṭika or puṣpavāṭika).<sup>4</sup> The garden should have flowers and trees, and a swing should be erected in the shadow of an arbour. Here also are to be found Aśoka groves and pools covered with red and white lotus. Cats, peacocks, mongoose as well as parrots and various other birds are kept to detect and destroy snakes.<sup>5</sup>

1. Cf. G. P. Majumdar, 'Hearth and Home', 'Indian Culture', Vol. Fasc. 3 (Jan. 1937) p. 440, quoting Rāmāyana, Sundarakāṇḍa Chap. IV, VI, VII, etc., where feminine statues made of ivory decorating private apartments are mentioned.

2. Coomaraswamy, 'Early Indian Architecture', 'Eastern Art', II (1930), pp. 209-235 and III (1931) pp. 181-217 ; Sivaramamurti, op. cit., G. P. Majumdar, loc. cit., and III, (July 1936) pp. 71 ff., etc.

3. Coomaraswamy, 'Eastern Art'. II. gives a summary of urban structure in ancient India which is remarkable for its great clarity.

4. Sivaramamurti, op. cit., p. 131.

5. G. P. Majumdar, 'Indian Culture', III, 1, p. 76 and III, 2, p. 428.

The furniture, according to Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra*, is essentially composed of beds, couches, pedestals and small tables along with cushions and carpets.<sup>1</sup>

In these quiet and pleasant surroundings, toilet and adornment are the main occupation ; as a matter of fact these two activities have been counted amongst the arts (*Śukranītiśāra* IV, III, 135) which is in accordance with the ethnographical point of view, and consists of innumerable operations amongst which rank foremost : looking at oneself in a mirror (*ādāsaṇ*), combing one's hair (*sikhā-bandhan*), anointing one's body with sandal paste (*anulepana*) and anointing the soles of one's feet with lacquer (*alaktaka*), adorning oneself with jewellery, flowers and garlands.<sup>2</sup>

All these details can be found in plenty in the *Begrām* ivories. Apart from two scenes from *Jātaka*<sup>3</sup> and a few hunting scenes, the great majority of the subjects deal with women's toilet and adornment and with various activities indulged in by the womenfolk of the palace (Pl. IV, Figs. a, c, d). Whilst female guards (*yavanī*) armed with pikes (*prāsa*), are on watch over the ramparts and the door-keepers (*dvarapālī* or *dauvārikā*) lean on their halberds (Pl. IX. No 79 and 80),<sup>4</sup> their mistresses dress their hair and admire themselves in their mirrors (*mukura*, Pl. IV. a, d ; Pl. IX, No, 73, 74, 75),<sup>5</sup> reclining the while on a day-bed or sitting amongst the *Aśoka* trees on an ornamented stool ; maid-servants (*sairandhrā* and *prasādhikā*) hasten to help them, massage them, bring forth their jewels, and dye the soles of their feet ; others bring them *pan* and spice boxes, pots of pomade, baskets of jewels, while other still (*cāmaradhāriṇī* or *kirātī*) cool

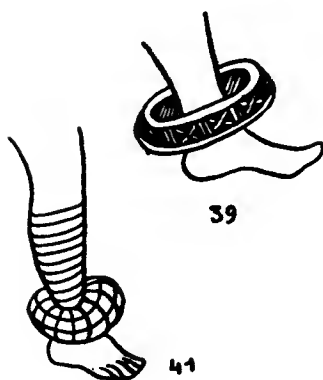
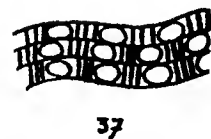
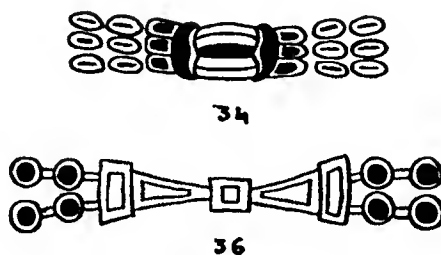
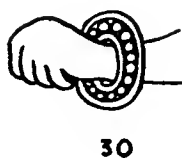
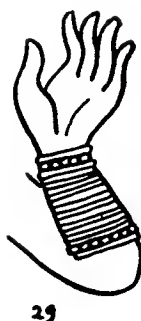
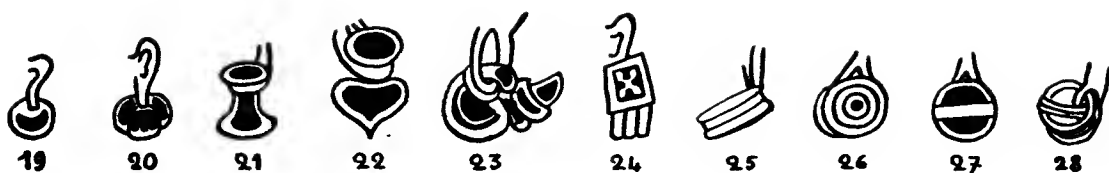
1. G. P. Majumdar, 'Furniture', *Indian Culture*, Vol. II Fasc. 1, ( July 1935 ) p. 74.

2. G. P. Majumdar, 'Toilet', *Indian Culture*, Vol. I, Fasc. 4 ( April 1935 ), p. 651 ; Sivaramamurti op cit., p. 119 sq.

3. Foucher, 'Deux Jātaka sur Ivoire', *India Antiqua*, 1947, p. 124 as relating to the illustration of the *Jātaka* No. 253 which tells the story of the *Maṅgalāsēva* (ratna-horse), of the king of Benares, and that of the *Jātaka* No. 25 which relates the love which bound a young anchorite *Ekaśrīṅga* and the princess *Nalinī*.

4. Foucher "L'art Greco-bouddhique du Gandhāra", II. pp. 70-71 and notes ; Cf. *Rāmāyana*, *Sundarakāṇḍa*, VI, 9, : "...Everywhere women of the highest order were to be found - who mounted guards as disciplined sentries". Already mentioned in the *Arthaśāstra*, their existence was perpetuated until the time of the Mughals.

5. This is a theme frequently illustrated at Mathurā and Amarāvati, and often described in literature. Cf. Sivaramamurti, op. cit., pp. 119, sq.







them with fans ( *tālavanta* ) ( Pl. I, d ; Pl. VI No. 61-64), and fly switches ( *cāmara* or *cauri* ) ( Pl. IX, No. 60). Meanwhile female musicians and dancers provide entertainment ; in the background the female bearer of the royal sword ( *khadgavāhinī* ) ( Pl. IX, No. 76) and the dwarfs, one of which is attired the mail garb, pass to and fro <sup>1</sup>. Or else sitting in the shade of an *Aśoka* tree, a banana tree or a blossoming mango tree, mistresses and attendants partake of refreshments and delicacies which they share with pets such as ducks, parrots or geese. (Pl. IV, Fig. d). Elsewhere they pluck *Aśoka* boughs, or amuse themselves with a ball or a swing. The young mothers play with their children ; they carry them astride their hip and suckle them as they walk.

All these figures are recognisable by their attitudes or their costumes; A *Rājā* clothed in the usual dhoti and turban ( *uṣṇiṣa* ) (Pl. V, No. 6), anchorites ( *vāṇiprastha* ) with flowing hair and loin-cloth made of bark ( *valkala* ), hunters and horsemen protected by a close-fitting, double-breasted and pointed coat with long sleeves, and narrow tight-ankled breeches, ornamented with a beaded braid down the side (Pl. VIII, No. 52), equerries ( *sūta* ) and mahouts ( *hastipaka* ) clothed in trousers, great coats (Pl. V, No 2) and conical bonnets (Pl. V, No. 5), etc. As to the women, whose representations are innumerable, they were a long striped dhotī (Pl. V, No 3), numerous jewels (Pl. V, No. 17, 18 ; Pl. VI ) and an elaborate head-dress varying from thick striped and beaded turbans (Pl. V, No 10)<sup>2</sup>, embellished with pins ( *sarpesh* ; Pl. IV, Fig. c ) or *Aśoka* twigs ( Pl. IV, Figs. a, c ), to knotted coils ( *keśapāśa* ) ( Pl. V, No 13 ) and light diadems ; a frequent characteristic of these head-dresses is a circle or oval displayed above the forehead, which are to be met

1. *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Sundarakāṇḍa*, XI, 80 : "One of these young ladies having put on a man's dress was reclining, overtaken by sleep" ( description of the banquet hall of the palace of *Rāvaṇa*, king of *Laṅkā* ). Another woman shown at *Begrām* ( Pl. 2, No. 7 ) wears pantaloons, but they appear under a wide skirt ( *āprapadina* ) with the train ( ? ) thrown over her left arm : Cf. '*Amarāvati*', by *Sivaramamurti* op. cit., Pl. VIII 36. According to this author a pantaloons was the prerogative of ladies of high birth ( *varastrī* )

2. This same tissue is used for the upholstery of beds and chairs, and also for wrapping up certain dishes and certain jewels laid in baskets. It is difficult to give an exact estimation of the various tissues shown at *Begrām*.

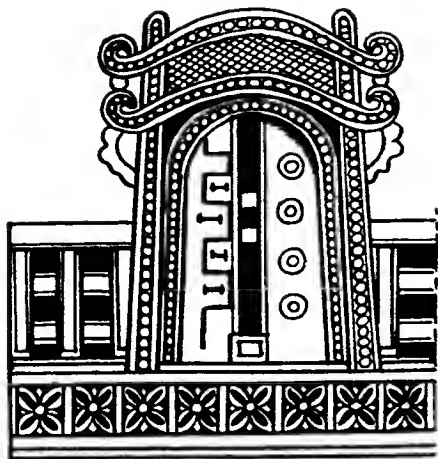
with both in Mathurā and Amarāvati (Pl. V, Nos. 12, 14) <sup>1</sup>. Mistresses and maids are dressed and adorned in a very simillar fashion ; dancers and musicians, in addition, sometimes wear a scarf which passes on their nape of the neck, and floats about their arms. The little girls wear the same dresses and jewellery as the women ; as for the boys, they are naked, their hair knotted in the shape of an egg on the forepart of their heads (śikhaṇḍa, Pl. V. No. 9), and are protected against evil influences by a necklace of tiger claws (Pl. V. No 16).

Amongst all these variously garbed and bedecked creatures, which, one must picture in all the sumptuous medley of their dresses, amongst the jingling of their bracelets and girdles, the harmonies of the musical instruments, and swathed in the varied perfumes with which their bodies are anointed <sup>2</sup>, there live all the familiar animals who enjoy the same degree of intimacy as do cats and dogs of to-day in a Western household. The geese in play nibble the trailing hair of the women (Pl. IV, Fig. b), the ducks beg for tit-bits, the peacocks are fed a-high on their perch, the parrots alight unceremoniously on their mistresses' arms or laps. We notice, by the way, that the choice of these pets, also indicated in the texts, answers to the need of detecting snakes. Numerous other birds of doubtful identification, are also depicted in these feminine surroundings. This is easily explained if we bear in mind the fact that every household is supplied with an aviary (viṭaṅka) set close to the partridges, pigeons (Mrcchakatikā, IV, 28-30). Cats and small felines pursue them, lie in wait for them or even devour them.

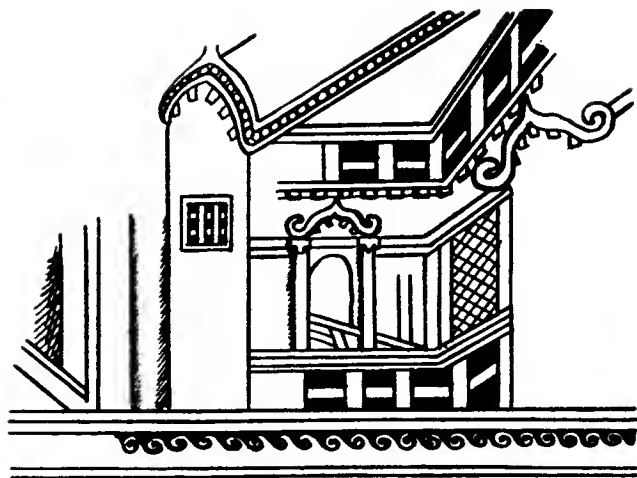
Elephants, horses, buffaloes are stabled in the first court near the main entrance, and are used for conveyance and hunting (Pl. VIII, No. 51, 52). The elephant is led with a goad (aṅkuśa ; Pl. IX, No 78) and the horse with a whip (lāṣa).

1. Vogel, "La Sculpture de Mathurā, *Asiatica*" Vol. XV, Pl. XIX c. ; Sivaramamurti. *op. cit.*, Pl. IX. 2.

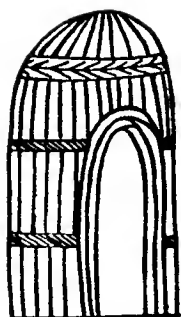
2. G. P. Majumdar, 'Toilet', *Indian Culture*, I, 4, pp. 651 sq.



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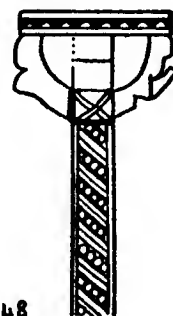
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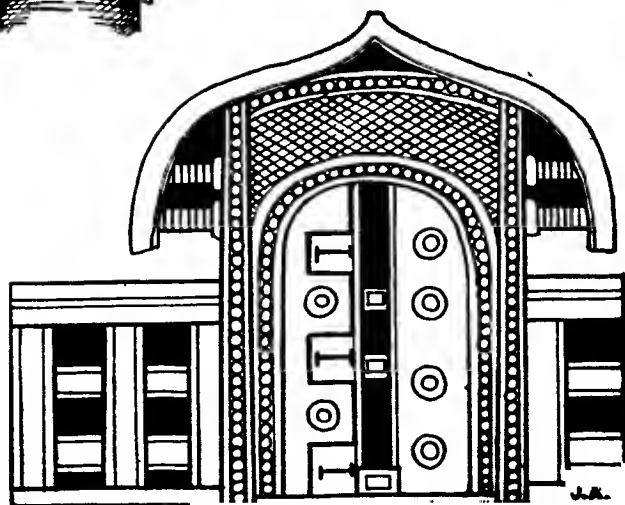
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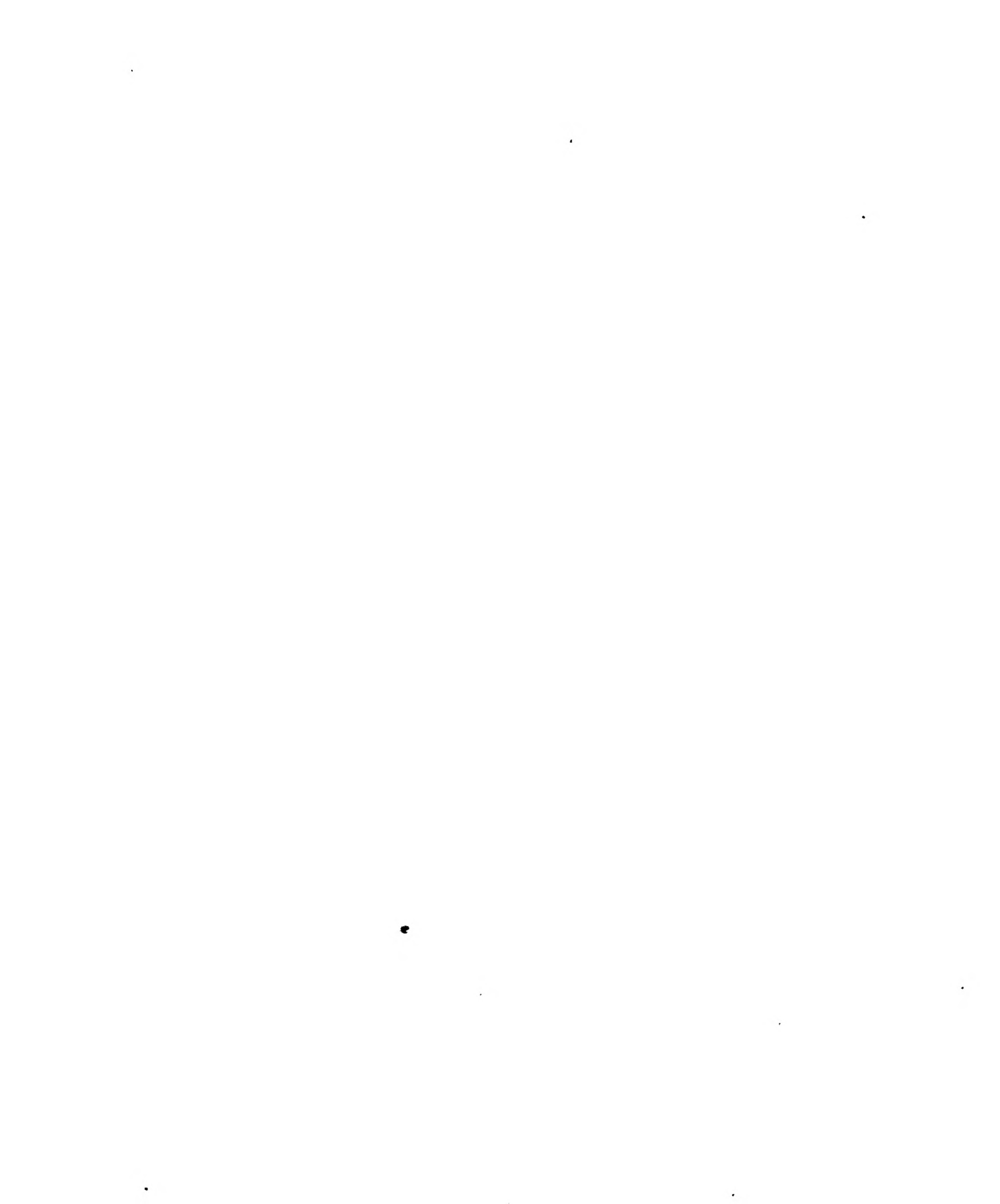


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Wild animals are hunted in various ways : the wild bear, the gazelle and the stag with a boar-spear or a lance ; the elephant and the agile feline with a bow and arrows ( Pl. IX, no. 82, 3 and 4 ) ; the bull is ensnared with a strong knotted rope. The huntsman often wears a sheathed knife in his belt ( Pl. IX, no. 77 ) and a shield for protection ( Pl. IX, no. 81 ). One must add to these animals a tapir ( ? ), a wolf ( ? ), a monkey, an owl and also various fish which are used for decorations in the same manner as in Mathurā.<sup>1</sup>

This animated throng of human and animal figures lives in the midst of another one composed of mythical and hybrid beings, quite as numerous and varied : various species of monster-like men, anguipeds with fin-like ears, Yakṣa, with or without wings, generally in the role of telamones, Gaṇa bearing garlands, Kinnara and Kinnarī half men and half birds. From the animal kingdom, monsters, such as Leogryphs, winged felines and lions, polycephalic snakes or Nāga, heraldic Garuḍa-birds, Makara and Kāla play a part in a great number of decorative compositions. Beings of an even more composite nature are also to be met with : a man with the horns of a ram and the body of a lion, grylles,—the subject of meticulous studies by J. Hackin,<sup>2</sup> etc. These mythological people form a kind of background against which stand out the figure of 'real' men and animals with all their characteristics and habits.

These scenes, as we have said, are enacted in a simplified setting where a tree may suggest an arbour, and a door a dwelling ( Pl. IV, fig. d ). In spite of this simplification, the ivories of Begrām supply us with priceless architectural information, for, in no stone relief nor mural paintings have we yet been able to admire such Torāṇa,<sup>3</sup> nor such portals crowned with the Indian arch, decorated in so fine a manner, nor so painstakingly reproduced.

1. Vogel, op. cit., pl. LIV, a.

2. Archaeological researches at Begrām, 1937, pp 20 ss.

3. This word is usually applied to doors and porticos composed of an undulated architrave of the Japanese Torii type ; we will therefore comply with this custom and refer to them by the name of "Torāṇa", preferably to other forms of doors.

The toraṇas vary from the simplest one-linteled type to the more elaborate ones with 3 lintels, covered with a profusion of symbols (jālatorāṇa, Pl. IV d ; Pl. VIII, no. 44). They can best be compared with those elements which are to be found in Mathurā.<sup>1</sup> A type of torāṇa peculiar to Bēgrām displays architraves composed of the assembled bodies of four or five headed Nāgas (Pl. 1d)<sup>2</sup>.

The Torāṇa bears a relation to the door of the ordinary dwelling (gṛha-dvāratōraṇa), with its rounded leaves (kavāta or kapātā), or its sunken threshold between two stambhas and its central catch (indrakīla) against which its panels come to bear<sup>3</sup>. The latter, in Bēgrām, are ornamented with special carved decorations; a kind of vertical Greek key-pattern, a horizontal "T" and circles; it is possible that these were metal inlays, handles and knockers<sup>4</sup>. The door are always shown a-jar, and one can sometimes make out through the opening, one or two elements which might well be the bars for securing the doors (pāligha, Skt ; parigha) mentioned in the Buddhacarita, v. 82 (Pl. VII no. 44).<sup>5</sup>

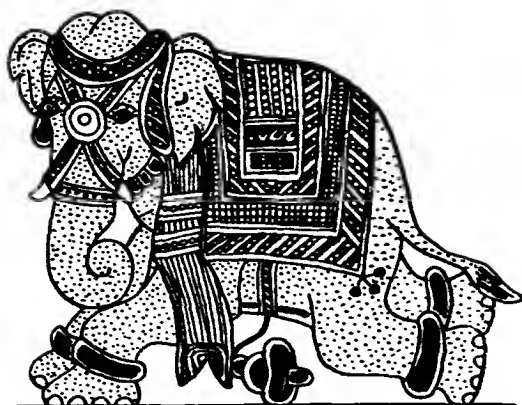
1. Vogel, op. cit. pl. Vb and VIa. In fact the types reproduced at Amarāvati are either less ornamented or more elaborate. The evolution of the torāṇa is indicated by three principal characteristics : (1) the lintels are "welded" to each other. (2) The abutments of the lintels, which, in the early types, project from the stambha, are first replaced by independent makara which converge; later they are totally suppressed. (3) the summit of each stambha is adorned with a corrogated cussinet or some architectural element which later will become a miniature 'pancaram'. All this effects a notable transformation in the silhouette of the torāṇa which, till then, resembled a Japanese Torii. It now becomes more and more akin to the portico (gopura-torāṇa), frequently found during the medieval period in Gujerat and Kathiwar in particular. The Bēgrām type bears a close resemblance to that of Mathurā, even in its smallest detail; even there one finds (Vogel, pl. Vb) the arch-shaped link between the lower lintel and the stambha which is also seen joining the back to the uprights of chairs (Amarāvati and Bēgrām school). It is also outstanding at Nasik, cave 3 (Fergusson and Burgess, 'Cave temples of India', pl. XX).

2. Although to our knowledge, similar torāṇas are found nowhere else, J. Hackin has very rightly recalled, as regards to them, the stupa shown on a Amaravati relief, the dome of which is covered with the bodies of intertwined nāgas, which form a sort of large net—cf. S. Levi and O. Brühl. "Aux Indes, Sanctuaires" Pl. 20.

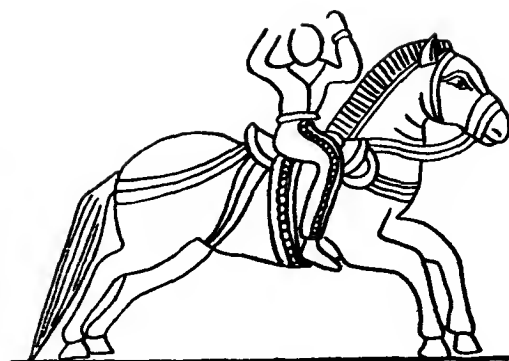
3. Cf. Coomaraswamy, Eastern Art, Vol. II p. 215 and 12 and P. 221. In Mathurā one finds panels of the same shape. Coomaraswamy, Eastern Art, Vol. III, 25, 46, 47, 48, 49; Vogel, op. cit. pl. XX b and c, XXIII c,—cf. descriptions in Mahāvamsa, XXV 28; and Mṛcchakaṭika, IV 28-30.

4. Foucher, "Two Jātakas on ivory", loc. cit., states the probable presence of a knocker in the Maṅgalāśva scene, Pl. VII a.

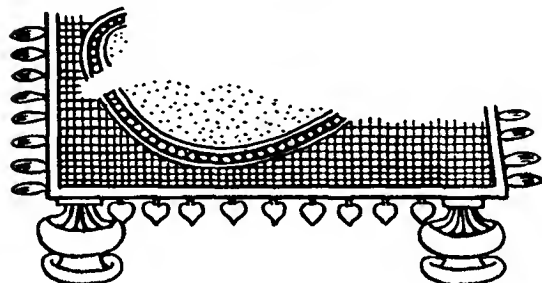
5. Coomaraswamy, Eastern Art. Vol. II, p. 217 and N. 13.



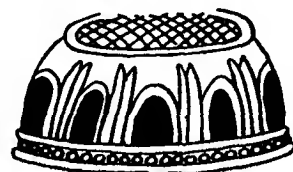
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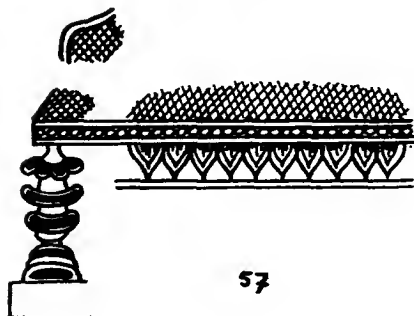
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The doors, topped with the Indian arch fulfill the same purpose as the toraṇa. They can be divided into principal groups by comparing their component parts, according to whether their stambhas are fitted or not with capitals. When these are lacking, the stambhas reach under the porch; they are assembled by means of more or less stylised hoops and connected to the porch by cylindrical cross-pieces (Pl. I d; Pl. VII, no. 50); this aspect of the Indian arched door, should be compared to that of Lomaśa Rsi (a comparison which J. Hackin did not fail to make) and to the Caitya of Kārli.<sup>1</sup> In the second case the capitals support the arch, and the spacing of the stambha is ensured by a straight lintel (Pl. VII, no. 49) or by hoops (Pl. I c); in this type, the capitals widen out into volutes and into "crossed" animals which are often ridden by small figures (Pl. IV c; Pl. VII, no. 47): these, as well as all the others in Begrām, are comparable to those of Mathurā<sup>2</sup> which on the other hand, recall the pseudo-Corinthian capitals of Gandhāra and the Parthian ones of Warka<sup>3</sup>.

These two types of doors, those with undulated lintels and those with Indian arches, are generally flanked by balustrades (vedikā), which play an important decorative part in the Begrām ivory collection.

To these architectural elements must be added the gopura, or cradle voluted town-gates, supplied with a window (vātapāṇa) fitted with lattice-work (jāla) and sometimes provided with a wall (prākāra) behind which stand women armed with spears.

Apart from a two columned 'pañcaram'—whose capital are of the type described hereabove—and the lower storey of 'prāsāda' with alternating doors and pillars, mention must be made of an 'antepurikā', that is to say the building where the gynaeceum of the royal palace was housed, consisting of an elongated cradle—arched building, similar to the gopura, coupled with a two-storey pavilion (dvi-bhūmikā), the flat roof (prastara) of which opens on to a verandha (alinda). It

1. Coomaraswamy, 'History of Indian and Indonesian Art,' Pl. IX, no. 29.

2. Cf. Vogel, op. cit., pl XXb, LIV a, LIX a; Combaz, "Inde et l'Orient Classique", pl. 9.

3. Combaz, op. cit., pl. 23 (top right.)

has two doors topped with an Indian arch, one of which ( the one facing us ), seems to lead on to a staircase ( *sopāna*, Pl. VII, no. 45 ), and a hut made of reeds ( *parṇa-kūṭī* ), symbolising an *āśrama* ( Pl. VII no. 46 ), and a stable for the 'ratna'-horse of the Cakravartin<sup>1</sup> complete the architectural information provided by *Begrām*.

In this architectural setting and amongst the neighbouring trees, a whole lot of implements and various accessories of every-day use are represented in the *Begrām* ivories. The furniture, as purported by the texts, consists solely of stools, beds, cushions and foot-stools ( Pl. 1d; Pl. VIII, no. 55 ), consoles, pedestal tables ( Pl. VIII, no. 55 ) and wickerwork brackets ( *bhojana-phalaka* or *paṭṭakaṇḍolika* ) ( Pl. IVd; Pl. VIII, no. 58 and 59 )<sup>2</sup>. There are various types of stools; wickerwork poufs, ( *vettamañca* or *veḷumañca*, Pl. VIII, no. 54 ), examples of which may be found as early as Bharut and as late as the 5th or 6th century<sup>3</sup>; rectangular stools, with feet and sometimes a back ( Pl. IV d; Pl. VIII, no. 57 ). These stools are sometimes composed of criss-cross leather bands sunk at regular intervals in the frame; which is quite in accordance with the descriptions of the texts ( *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, V. IV. 1. ; Pl. VIII, no. 53 ); sometimes also, they are covered with a rug, the serrated edges of which fall around the frame ( Pl. VIII, no. 57 ). The legs generally assume the form of a vase ( *kumbha* ) taken from the architectural repertoire ( Pl. IV d; Pl. VIII, no. 53 ); others more in keeping with the technique of wood and ivory work are spindle-turned and rest on caster-sockets ( Pl. VIII, no. 57 ); they seem to belong to a transition period, which is well defined at Gandhāra and also depicted at Mathurā and Amarāvati. As for the backs of those stools they are either straight, with a cross-bar joining the two upper ends of

1. Foucher, loc. cit., pp. 126 sq. and pl. IX a.

2. These stands on which are placed trays, baskets, vases, of fruits and flowers, affect the shapes often twisted and constricted by a tie about half way up. These of Mathurā ( specimens at the British Museum, dated of Kanikṣa ) and of Amarāvati ( Longhurst, 'The Buddhist Antiquities of Nāgārjunakonda', Madras Presidency; Memoires of the A. S. I., No. 54, pl. XXa ) are very similar. Those of *Begrām* are particularly elaborate.

3. Specially at Sāñcī, Bhājā, Mathurā, at Gandhāra, at Ajanṭā ( Cave X ), Amarāvati, Nāgārjunakonda, Goli, Ceylon, on the Gupta coins and lastly at Bādāmi ( Cave 1 ).



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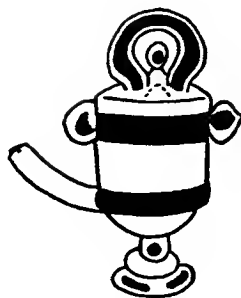
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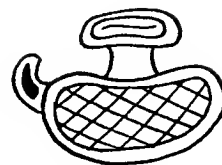
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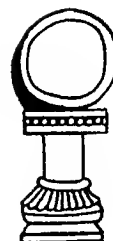
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the uprights<sup>1</sup> or, slightly concave and topped by two elements recalling the head of a Makara, a subject which is often met with at Amaravati and Nāgārjunikoṇḍa<sup>2</sup> and which is the first stage towards the decorative type whose fame was to become so widespread by-and-by.<sup>3</sup>

The table-services are very simple. They could be compared, on account of their identical shapes (pl. IVa), with the implements used for toilet and adornment. Drinking vessels assume the form of standless bowls (pānapātra<sup>4</sup> and goblets; pl. IX, no. 65, 69). Liquids are kept in aiguieres or ewers or bhr̥ṅgāra (pl. IX no. 66, 67, 68), the shapes of which are closely related to the models found in Bharhut<sup>5</sup>, Mathurā<sup>6</sup>, Ajanṭā and to a pottery found in Taxila. Water is contained in squat thick-necked jars (loṭā, kumbha, amṛta-kalaśa, purnaghaṭa) which are still in use to this day and are endowed with a particularly sacred character.<sup>7</sup> The models found in Begrām are closely related to those of Amarāvati<sup>8</sup> and Mathurā, where one finds, as in Begrām, a strip of cloth tied around the bulge<sup>9</sup>.

1. It is the very same kind of chair that J and B. Hackin found in the Begrām excavations of 1939/40, the cross-bars of which are sculptured in the shape of leogrypha ridden by a woman. It is represented in a similar form at Mathura (Vogel, op. cit. pl. XLVI a).

2. Longhurst, op. cit. Pl. XIV a, XIX c, XLV a, XLVI b.

3. J. Auboyer, "La frône et son symbolisme dans l'Inde ancienne" (to be published).

4. The shape of these cups is identical with that of those which are represented in Ajanṭā for instance, Cave I (Yazdani, Ajanṭā, Vol. I. pl. XXVII, XXXIX a), Cave II (Yazdani, op. cit., Vol. II, pl. XI), etc.—K. de B. Godrington, 'The Culture of Mediæval India as illustrated by the Ajanṭā Frescoes', 'Indian Antiquary,' August and September 1930, remarks that these cups, at Ajanṭā are found in the Bacchanalian scenes; to him it would appear to be of Mediterranean or Iranian origin. Mr. Godrington reminds us that import of wine in India is mentioned in the Roman text. This is definitely stated by the Tamil text and confirmed by the excavations at Virapatnam: a number of ætine amphoras found there contained internal traces of rosin which was frequently used in the preparation of Mediterranean wines; Cf. Wheeler, Ghosh and Krishna deva in 'Ancient India,' No. 2 (July, 1946), p. 41. Vineyards are still cultivated in the district of Nasik.

5. Bachhofer, 'Early Indian Sculpture', I. pl. 20 (top right).

6. Vogel op. cit. pl. IX a.

7. Re. this symbolism etc., cf. for instance, Coomaraswamy, 'Yakshas', II pp. 61 ff. 'Hobogirin', pp. 265 ff; Combaz, L'Inde et L'Orient classique, I, p. 174; Fabri, Mesopotamian and Early Indian art comparisons, Mélanges d'Orientalisme published by Musée Guimet, in memory of de Raymonde Linossier, tr. I, pp. 203 ff; Coomaraswamy and Kershaw, Artibus Asiae, 1928-29; etc.

8. Coomaraswamy, 'Yakshas', II, pl. 28 1; and 33. 1.

9. Vogel, Catalogue, p. 163; A. S. I., A. B., 1909-10 pl. XXVIII (ref. given by J. Hackin.)

Apart from the weapons, the uses of which have been described hereabove, the house contained musical instruments. The male musicians, shown on two ivory bands, are a kind of dwarfs. They use flat cymbals, a drum, probably circular in shape, held by a bauldric and beaten with a stick<sup>1</sup>, another domeshaped drum secured by means of a strap over right shoulder, and played with the two naked hands, and lastly, a horn, with an upward curved bell.

The female orchestras generally accompany a dancer, and are composed of cymbals (?), a drum, an arched harp (vīṇā), a transverse flute, and perhaps also the clapping of hands. In this case the drum might have the shape of an hour-glass ; in others, it is pot-bellied, and tightening things seem to be laced "w" wise.

The briefness of this study has not allowed us to exhaust the information provided by the Begrām ivories. We hope, nevertheless, to have given a sufficiently exact idea of the accessories which went to make the setting of the familiar scenes which the ivories of old have reproduced with such obliging skill. The admirable work of Joseph and Ria Hackin will find an echo in all those who love Indian art, for it reveals a perfection of technique unknown to the Indianists of old which rivals the most beautiful of Indian reliefs.

*Trans. Charles Gratry*

1. It is the type of drum found as early as the Bharut period the characteristics of which remain from the first to the 4th century approximately ; they are found more specially in Mathura. cf. C.M. Dubois, "Les instruments de musique de l'Inde ancienne," pp. 41 ff.

## **SŪRYA**

Ādityas and the Navagrahas

by J. N. BANERJEA

The worship of the sun as a prominent deity was prevalent among almost all the ancient nations of the world, for the celestial luminary appealed greatly to their religious instincts. He was held by the Indians of the Vedic age in the highest esteem along with other nature gods. Sacrifices were offered to the sun-god in his various aspects under such names as, Sūrya, Savitr̥, Puṣan, Bhaga, Vivasvat, Mitra and Viṣṇu, each personifying to a greater or lesser extent the different attributes of the sun. Sūrya, 'the most concrete of the solar deities was directly connected with the visible luminous orb', and various qualities and functions were attributed to him; Savitr̥, 'the stimulator of everything' ('sarvasya prasavitā', 'Nirukta', 10, 31) denoted his abstract qualities. The conception underlying Puṣan appears to have centred round 'the beneficent power of the sun manifested chiefly as a pastoral deity'. Bhaga, according to Yāska, is the presiding deity of the forenoon, though its association with the sun is not very clear; he is 'regularly conceived in the Vedic hymns as a distributor of wealth', usually the gift of Indra and Agni. Vivasvat seems to have originally represented the rising sun, but like the Avestan Vivanhvant, the first mortal that prepared Haoma (Vedic Soma), he is usually regarded as the first sacrificer, the ancestor of the human race. Mitra, whose connection with Sūrya is a little obscure in the 'R̥gveda' where he is mainly celebrated along with Varuṇa, is an Indo-Iranian god; his later Iranian aspect influenced to a great extent the sun-worship in northern India. Aryaman, another less defined aspect of Sūrya, is an Indo-Iranian deity; but he is so



devoid of individual traits, that the 'Naighanṭuka' does not include him in its list of the gods. The most interesting of the different solar deities is Viṣṇu. Originally a particular aspect of the sun, chiefly extolled in connection with his march across the firmament in three great strides, he became one of the principal constituents of the composite cult picture of the Bhāgavata or the Vaiṣṇava creed. Most of the above deities along with a few others like Amṣa, Dakṣa, Mārtāṇḍa, etc. came to constitute, in different groupings and in various contexts, the class of gods called Ādityas. The number of the latter was indefinite in the early Vedic texts, but it was later raised to twelve. The 'Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa' once refers to the Ādityas 'as having become eight by the addition of Mārtāṇḍa, while in two others (VI. 1,2,8; XI. 6,3,8,) they are said to be twelve in number' but they are identified in this context with the twelve months. The epics, Purāṇas, and other later texts stick to the number, but usually name them as, Dhātṛ, Mitra, Aryaman, Rudra, Varuṇa, Sūrya, Bhaga, Vivasvān, Puṣan, Savitṛ, Tvaṣṭṛ and Viṣṇu. A late iconographic text describes their images as the different varieties of Sūrya, 'the expresser of the world'.<sup>1</sup> These were usually known as the Dvādaśādityas; we do not fail to recognise in them the names of many of the solar deities of the Vedic period. Two of the Ādityas, Dhātṛ and Rudra, were the Vedic prototypes of the Purāṇic Brahmā and Śiva, the first and last members of the orthodox Brāhmaṇical triad—Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva. The worship of the Ādityas along with that of the nine so-called planets or Navagrahas came to hold a very important and unique place in the Brāhmaṇical rituals. The Navagrahas are Ravi, Soma, Maṅgala, Budha, Bṛhaspati, Śukra, Śani, Rāhu and Ketu; barring the first two and the last two, the rest are planets all right. Their place in the ritualism of the different sects, especially Brāhmaṇical, was unique; the Navagrahas were worshipped by all in times of danger according to the 'grahayāga' or 'svastvayana vidhi', for the troubles were regarded as the outcome of the anger of these gods.

Hymns in the 'Rgveda', that were composed in honour of Sūrya and some of his various aspects mentioned above, contain many

1. 'Viśvakarmaśāstra'; T.A.G. Rao, 'Elements of Hindu Iconography', Vol. I App. C, p.86.





traits which became the source of many of his characteristic features in the epic and Purāṇic periods. In some Vedic hymns, Sūrya is conceived as a celestial bird called Garutmān with beautiful wings ('divya suparṇo Garutmān'); from this concept originated the later mythology about Garuḍa. In one verse ('R. V.', VII. 77. 3.) the sun is described as a white and brilliant steed brought by Uṣas; but he is more often described in the hymns as moving on a car 'which is sometimes said to be drawn by one and sometimes by several, or by seven fleet and ruddy horses or mares' ('R. V.', I. 115, 3-4; VII. 60, 3; VII. 63, 2 etc.). Some of the epithets or synonyms of Sūrya in the classical Sanskrit literature contain evident allusion to this Vedic imagery.<sup>1</sup> The elaborate story about Sūrya's marrying Samjñā, the daughter of Viśvakarmā, her flight from him for his unbearable effulgence, and Viśvakarmā's attempt at reducing this unendurable 'tejas' (effulgence) of Sūrya had its basis in the Vedic mythology about the marriage of Saraṇyu, the daughter of Tvaṣṭar, with Vivasvat, the sun-god.<sup>2</sup> It will be shown afterwards how this story was used in explaining away some peculiar features of the north-Indian variety of Sūrya images.

The sun-god and his various aspects were worshipped throughout the ages of the Brāhmaṇas, Upaniṣads and Sūtras. The sage Kauṣītaki is said to have adored the sun in the morning, at midday and in the evening for the expiation of his sins<sup>3</sup>; this is the same as the 'trisandhya' (the morning, midday and twilight adorations) of a Brāhmin believer everyday. The 'Gāyatrī Mantra', also known as 'Sāvitrī' uttered in this daily rite is derived from a R̥gvedic verse in which Savitr̥ is prayed to inspire the thoughts of those who contemplate on the excellent brilliance of the god.<sup>4</sup> Sūrya or Āditya is identified with

1. Among the various synonyms of Sūrya given in the 'Amarakoṣa' are 'saptāśva' and 'haridaśva'; 'Svargavargaḥ', 135.

2. 'J. A. O. S', Vol. 15, 1893. pp. 172-88. The Vedic myth seems to have started from a 'brahmodya' (a riddle or a charade) passage in the 'R̥gveda' (I, 164).

3. 'Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa Upaniṣad'. II, 5.

4. 'R. V.', III, 62, 10: 'Tat saviturvareṇyam bhargo devasya dhīmahi, dhiyo yo nah̥ pracodayāt'. The verse is in the Vedic metre, 'Gāyatrī'; it is prefixed by the 'praṇava' ('Om') and the three 'vyāhṛtis' ('bbūh', 'bbūva' and 'sva'). It is first invoked by a Brāhmaṇa at his initiation into the Vedic study ('upanayana').

Brahman, the highest god in the Upaniṣads (*asāvādityo Brahma*). The Gṛhya-sūtras frequently testify to the great veneration in which he was held. The two epics are replete with allusions to Sūrya and various myths connected with him, and he is sometimes described as 'Deveśvara' (lord of gods; 'Mahābhārata', II. 50, 16—'bhāsi divi deveśvaro yathā'). Many other Sanskrit works of a general character belonging to the Gupta and early Gupta periods contain similar references. R. G. Bhandarkar remarked on the basis of the above data, that 'it can not but be expected that a school should come into existence for the exclusive worship of the sun'.<sup>1</sup> This school or sect was that of the Sauras, a brief account of which is given in the 'Śaṅkaradigvijaya' of Ānandagiri. The Sauras believed that the sun, the principal object of their worship, was the supreme soul, the creator of the universe; they referred to the Śrutis as well as the Smṛtis in support of their belief. The 'R̥gveda' verse (I. 115, 1) says that the sun is the soul of movable and im movable things ('Sūrya ātmā jagatastasthūṣaśca'). Ānandagiri describes six classes of Sauras all of whom bore 'nāmam' (caste mark) made of red sandal paste, wore garlands of red flowers and repeated the 'Sūrya gāyatrī' of eight syllables. The difference between these sub-sects lay in the mode of their concepts about their principal deity and their ritualistic methods. It is probable that the systematic evolution of this sect both in the north and the south of India took place in the early post Christian period in different lines. The north-Indian sun-cult undoubtedly absorbed a large amount of foreign element in it which does not seem to have influenced its south-Indian form to any appreciable extent. Literary as well as archaeological data clearly prove that it was the sun cult prevalent among the ancient Iranians, which was mainly instrumental in remodelling the worship of Sūrya in northern India. Several inscriptions of the Gupta period contain references to the images and shrines of Sūrya; some of the extant Sūrya images of the pre-Gupta and Gupta periods found in Mathura and other parts of northern India unmistakably show prominent Iranian features. The north-Indian

1. B. G. Bhandarkar, 'Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems', 152

sun-cult of the Gupta age and afterwards was thus of a composite character, and there is little doubt that many kings and potentates who styled themselves in their inscriptions as 'Paramādityabhaktas' ('great devotees of the sun') were the followers of this re-orientated creed.

The growth and development of the cult of Sūrya necessitated the making of his images in various materials. But it is presumable that long before the inception of any cult, the god and his manifold aspects were being represented by means of various symbols from the Vedic times onwards. These symbols were necessary for the proper performances of the ancient Vedic rites. Sun was represented by a wheel in the religious ceremonies of the time; a wheel very effectively symbolised the apparent movement of the god. Sometimes, the imagery was less clear; thus a round golden plate or a fire-brand stood for the sun. The 'Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa' expressly tells us that 'in piling the fire altar, a disc of gold should be placed on it to represent the sun' (VII. 4, 1, 10).<sup>1</sup> Among the extant antiquarian remains of the Vedic and early post-Vedic periods, one can recognise the symbolical forms of the deity. The punch-marked coins, the origin of which has been traced by Cunningham prior to 1000 B.C. ('Coins of Ancient India', p. 43), bear on their face various peculiar marks which can be explained as so many symbols of the great celestial luminary. A spoked wheel and its different forms are commonly found on these coins. The wheel with its variants is found also on the indigenous coins of Taxila, on those of the Audumbaras, and on many other such coins. Sun is also represented as a 'rayed disc' on these coins as well as on the coins of the local rulers of northern India. Cunningham assumed that some of the spoked wheel symbols stood for 'Dharma cakra'; but they can equally well be taken to symbolise the sun god. Spooner's latest view about these symbols was that they were solar in character, though he would take them to be of Zoroastrian affiliation.<sup>2</sup> On some coins, the rayed disc of the sun is placed on an altar and surrounded by a railing, thus clearly indicating that the figure enclosed

1. Coomaraswamy observes that this gold disc might well have been the origin of the later 'prabhāmaṇḍala' or 'śiraścakra' (nimbus); 'History of Indian and Indonesian Art', 41.

2. 'JRAS', 1915, p. 412.

within the railing was an object of worship inside some sort of a shrine. Cunningham always describes this figure as 'rayed circle of sun on Buddhist basement railing'; but there is no reason for describing the basement railing as Buddhist, and it may be more correctly described as a Brāhmanical one. M. Foucher discerned 'in the infantile simplicity' of these and other emblems on the early indigenous coins of India, 'the style of the most ancient manifestations of the religious art of the Buddhists'.<sup>1</sup> But all these symbols are certainly not ascribable to Buddhism. Originally they must have been emblems representing the sun, but later they were utilised by the Buddhists and other sectaries for their own purposes. On some very early types of punch-marked coins, small elongated hexagonal bars of silver, appear several marks which look like crude representations of a lotus. On other ancient coins too, some symbols are found, which seem to be the variant forms of a lotus flower.<sup>2</sup> Lotus is intimately associated with the sun from the earliest times; it is mentioned in the oldest literature of the Indo-Aryans. The part played by the flower in the myth and rituals of Brāhmanism, Buddhism and Jainism is important, this importance being solely due to its solar association. The association of lotus with the sun was due to the fact that the opening and closing of the flower timed with the rising and setting of the sun. The Purāṇas emphasise the connection, and enjoin the execution in art of a twelve-petalled lotus, on different petals of which figures of the different aspects of the sun-god are to be placed with the god Bhāskara on the central pericarp ('karṇikā'). Hemādri quotes from the various Purāṇas like the 'Bhāgavata', 'Skanda' and 'Matsya' the respective passages dealing with 'Divākara Vratam', 'Āsāditya Vratam' and 'Sūryanakta Vratam'; he also quotes the passage about 'Sūrya Vrata' from 'Saura Dharma': 'Upalipya śucau deśe Sūryam tatra samarcayet. Saṃlikhet tatra padmantu dvādaśāraṃ sakarṇikam'.<sup>3</sup> The lotus flower symbolising the sun as also the idea of superhuman and divine birth connected with the sun

1. A. Foucher, 'The Beginnings of Buddhist Art'. p. 14.

2. J. Allan, 'Coins of Ancient India'; cf. some indigenous coins of Taxila.

3. Hemādri, 'Caturvargaśāntāmaṇi', Vrataskhaṇḍa, pp. 528, 535, 539, 553.

from very remote times came to hold such a unique position in Indian art of all ages and all creeds, that the later iconographic texts sometimes supply us with details about the correct mode of its representation in art.<sup>1</sup> Thus, in Indian art the sun-god was represented by various symbols, such as spoked wheel, rayed disc, lotus flower in various shapes, etc. When he came to be represented anthropomorphically, the wheel and lotus were not left out; the wheel became one of the principal emblems of Viṣṇu, an Āditya, and lotus flowers were placed in both the hands of the images of Sūrya. Moreover, the wheel and the lotus figure as so many solar emblems independently on numerous coins, seals, clay tablets and copper-plate inscriptions of the Gupta period and afterwards.<sup>2</sup>

Sūrya is not depicted in human form in early Indian art till a comparatively late period. The earliest of the extant monuments of India generally belong to the age of Aśoka. Most of the monuments of the Maurya and Śuṅga periods are connected with Buddhism; but figures of Brāhmaṇical deities who are given a subordinate position can be occasionally recognised on these old architectural remains. The sun-god figures rarely in these bas-reliefs. One of the earliest figures of Sūrya is found in high relief on an upright of the old stone railing ('prācīna śilā-prākāra') at Bodh Gaya. The god is seen riding on a four-horsed one-wheel ('ekacakra') chariot, with the reins in his hand, attended on either side by a female figure shooting arrows, personifying the dawn driving away darkness; the demons of darkness appear to be personified by one male bust on each side of the relief with one of its hands raised in supplication. There is a big elliptical disc behind the central figure in the chariot, which probably represents the halo or nimbus of the god; over it appears a spread umbrella ('chatra') which emphasises the Buddhist idea of divinity.<sup>3</sup> Cunningham suggested that 'the four horses and the general execution resemble to a great extent the Greek representation of Helios, the sun-god',

1. 'Viṣṇudharmottara', BK. III, ch 45, V. 1-8.

2. J. N. Banerjĕa, 'The Development of Hindu Iconography', p. 214-16.

3. B. M. Barua suggests that the central figure in the relief stands for the god's charioteer (Arūṇa), Sūrya himself being represented not by a human figure but by a rayed disc; 'Gaya and Buddha Gaya', Vol. II, p. 89.



but he emphasised the Indian character of the chariot ('ASR', Vol. III, p, 97). The resemblance to the Greek representation of Helios is, however, superficial; a comparison in this connection between the above-named Bodh-Gaya relief and the Helios driving a quadriga appearing as the reverse device of the dated coin of the Bactro-Greek ruler Plato can be profitably suggested. The representation of the divinity in the Bodh Gaya relief, however, is purely Indian in character. The R̥gvedic description of Sūrya, which is apparently the background of the human representation of this deity in Indian art, pointedly refers to the fact of his riding a chariot drawn by one (Etasa), three, four or seven horses. The arrow-shooting female figures are known in the iconographic texts as Uṣā and Pratyūṣā. On the left side of the Buddhist cave at Bhaja, there is an elaborate relief which probably represents Sūrya and his retinue. A royal person, in the company of two women, one holding a 'chatra' and the other a 'chaurie', rides on a chariot drawn by four horses. He is escorted by figures on horseback, both male and female, one of which is provided with some kind of stirrups (this appears to be the earliest recorded use of stirrups in the world). Beneath the wheel of the chariot are grossly proportioned nude demons seeming to float downwards in the air. This relief was originally identified by Burgess as depicting Sūrya driving through the sky in the company of his consorts and other attendants and destroying the evil powers of darkness.<sup>1</sup> E. H. Johnston, on the other hand, suggests that the scene illustrates the story of the war between Śakra and the Asuras as told in the 'Saṃyuttanikāya'. (J.I.S.O.A', VII, 1939, 1-7, pls. i & ii). But if we compare the above relief with the one engraved on a partially preserved shaft of a column ('dhvaja') which was found at Lala Bhagat, in the Dehrapur tehsil, Cawnpur, U.P., we can endorse the previous view. The red sandstone octagonal pillar, 6' 3" in height, has on one of its sides elaborate carvings in low relief, one of which has many features common to the Bodh Gaya and Bhaja sculptures just discussed. It shows a royal figure riding on an one-wheeled chariot drawn by four horses arranged in the manner of the Sūrya relief at Bodh Gaya ;

1. 'A. S. I.', New Imperial Series, Vol. IV.

an umbrella is held aloft on one side of his head by the female attendant on his left, the one to his right probably holds a chaurie ; the hind legs of the horses yoked to the car rest on a grinning head (probably Rāhu typifying here the evil enemy of the sun); just below it are three well-dressed female figures standing at ease over a group of thirteen uncouth nude dwarfs reminding us of the malformed demons of darkness in Bhaja.<sup>1</sup> There seems to be such a family likeness between the Bhaja and Lala Bhagat reliefs on the one hand and the Bodh Gaya Sūrya on the other, that there can be little doubt that the first two depict the sun god in their own way. Prayag Dayal who first brought the Lala Bhagat column to the notice of scholars asked whether the misshapen dwarfs on it might represent the Bālakhilyas "who according to the 'Śrīmad Bhāgavata' are of infinitely short stature and offer praises in honour of the sun god". But on its analogy to the Bhaja relief they can far better be identified as demons of darkness. A dancing peacock with its plums spread out, an elephant disporting among lotuses, which are carved below them might typify the joy and pleasure pervading the animal world at the advent of dawn. In the lowest part of the column stands Gaja-Lakṣmī (goddess of fortune bathed by two elephants) with a cockcrested pilaster on her right side ; the association of the goddess Śrī with a cock is interesting, for the bird is usually an emblem of Skanda or Kumāra. Cock is also intimately connected with dawn, and thus its appearance on a relief where the figure of Sūrya is carved is appropriate. A fragmentary inscription on a part of the pillar reads 'Kumāra vara....' in Brāhmī characters of the 2nd century A. D., and it is presumable that the pillar was a 'dhvaja' (votive column) in front of the Brāhmanical war-god Skanda-Kumāra.<sup>2</sup> The figure of Sūrya with its other adjuncts on the votive column of Kārttikeya is not difficult to understand ; though the composite god Skanda-Kārttikeya is chiefly associated with Śiva from the mythological point of view, he has many clear solar features in his composition.

1. 'Journal of the U.P. Historical Society' Vol. IV, pl. II, 1930, pp. 38-41, pls. I, III & IV ; A.S.I.A.R., 1929-30, pp. 132-33, pl. XXXI.

2. J. N. Banerjea, 'D. H. I', pp. 116-17 ; a red sandstone cock was found very near the pillar, and it must have been its 'capital piece.'

The Bhaja and Bodh Gaya reliefs of Sūrya are dated in the first century B.C., while the Lala Bhagat carving dates in the 2nd century A.D. Another very early figure of the god depicting him in the old usual way occurs on the torus frieze of the small cave, Anantagumphā, among the Khaṇḍagiri group of caves near Bhuvaneśvar in Orissa. The inner section of the cave is divided into four compartments by four 'torāṇas', the first two being broken. It will be interesting to describe at some length the carvings on the third and fourth toruses for comparison with the Lala Bhagat reliefs. The third has a frieze of alternate beasts and men, its entablature also containing in the centre a figure of Gaja-Lakṣmī. The next contains a similar frieze of men and animals; on the right corner of the part of the entablature is a demon in the flying pose with two objects in his hands (a vase and a banner); just above his head there is a crescent moon and stars. In the centre the sun god is shown riding on a wheeled chariot drawn by four horses; the god is attended by a female figure on either side holding a chaurie and an umbrella; Sūrya holds a lotus in his right hand, the left securing the reins. The left part of the relief is broken; it must have contained another pot-bellied demon similar to the one in the right. On the top left corner of the broken 'torāṇa' near the one just described is an elephant with a bunch of lotus in its trunk turning towards a hybrid figure (an elephant-headed human figure?) seated in an awkward pose. In comparing the Anantagumphā carvings with the Lala Bhagat ones, we find some common features. The god with his attendants bearing a 'chaurie' and the demons flying through the sky are common to both (the Bhaja relief also contains these elements); the former also shows the goddess Śrī and the disporting elephant, necessarily arranged differently from the Lala Bhagat mode. Most of the Khaṇḍagiri caves are associated with Jaina creed, Anantagumphā being one of the earliest in point of date (c. 1st century A. D., if not a little earlier). These early reliefs of Sūrya hailing from different parts of India, west, north and east, seem to prove that the iconographic motif of Sūrya with its adjuncts was more or less similar everywhere, and was utilised by devotees irrespective of creeds. This motif was shortly

to be remodelled in northern and western India due to certain adventitious elements that were introduced into the Indian sun-cult. By that time, the cult had taken a novel form—it was no mere adjunct to other creeds of greater importance, and the principal cult-icon was modelled partially on a foreign form though indigenous elements in it were also prominent.

In tracing the evolution of the new and orientated cult-icon, it will be necessary to refer to a few art motifs, some going back to the pre-Christian period, but most belonging to the first two or three centuries of the Christian era; they belong to the intermediate stages in this process of evolution. A few among them do not represent the sun god, but from the point of view of their types, they have some features in common with the developed sun images of northern India. One of the uprights in the partly preserved railing of the 'stūpa' of Bharhut, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, contains a human figure in high relief, whose dress and other features are very peculiar. Cunningham who took it to be a representation of a soldier in the service of the Mauryan kings, says "the bare-headed nearly life-size figure has short curly hair bound with a broad band or ribbon fastened at the back of the head in a bow, with its long ends streaming in the end; it is clad in a long tunic with ample sleeves reaching nearly to the mid thigh, tied in two places by cords at the throat and across the belly; the loins and thighs are covered with a 'dhoti' reaching below the knees, with the ends hanging down to the ground in front in a series of extremely stiff and formal folds; the legs are inside long boots with encircling tassels at the top; it holds in the right hand placed on the breast a bunch of grapes with a leaf attached to it and its left hand clasps in the middle a huge broad sword sheathed in a scabbard suspended from the left shoulder by a long flat belt; the face of the scabbard is ornamented with the Buddhist symbol of 'triratna'".<sup>1</sup> R. P. Chanda on account of the boots was inclined to identify the figure as the 'asura' Vipracitti who is described in the 'Samyutta Nikāya' as

1. Cunningham, 'Stūpa of Bharhut', pp. 32-33.

wearing boots ('upāhana, ganaṅgana-upāhana') and moving about armed with a dagger ('khagga'). But Barua rightly says that "these by themselves are not sufficient to justify the identification". He himself would identify it as the figure of the Iranian sun god. Referring to the inscription engraved on the top of the pillar, 'bhadamta mahilasa thabho dānam' ('the gift of the monk Mahila'), he took 'mahila' to be a variant of 'Mihila' or 'Mihira', one of the names of the sun god, and suggested that "the figure itself has the most intimate connexion with the name or epithet of the donor of the pillar gift"; he thought that the bunch of grapes and the northern dress ('udīcyaveśa') of the figure definitely supported his identification<sup>1</sup>. The type undoubtedly stands for a foreign personality, as the peculiar dress and the vine leaf and fruit testify; all these also connect it with the extreme north-western border land of India. In the above different attempts at its identification, no importance was given by any scholar to 'the broad band or ribbon fastened at the back of the head in a bow, with its long ends streaming in the end'; it appears to be nothing but the Indian adaptation of the 'diadema' which is the unmistakable sign of Greek royalty. The Bharut artist probably intended to reproduce in his own way some Indo-Greek king of the extreme north and north-west, one of whom at least (Menander) was a Buddhist convert. The form was undoubtedly an idealised one, reminding us of one of the two figures riding on horned lions carved on the third architrave of the east gateway of the Great Stūpa of Sanchi. The Sanchi figure, shown only up to waist, is similarly dressed, holds the reins in the right and the bunch of grapes with a vine leaf in the left, and its head is encircled by a similar diadema. Grünwedel remarks about it, "although the framework of the figure is in the Perso-Indian style, at any rate this and the corresponding equestrian figures represent foreign nations, regarded as living far away in the North-west"<sup>2</sup>. Reference may be made in this connection to two other such foreign types in one of the Udayagiri caves near Bhuvaneśvara, Orissa. On the left wing of the upper floor of the Rani-Nur cave are two figures, the left one of which is stout and pot-bellied with a sword

1. B. M. Barua, 'Barhut', Bk. II, pp. 68, 70, Bk. III, p. 86.

2. Grünwedel, 'Buddhist Art', p. 34, fig. 10.

hanging down from the belt ; its right hand is placed on the breast and the left hangs down by the side ; its head seems to be diademed, the ends of which swing behind. The figure on the right is heavily draped and booted, its right hand rests on hip ( 'kaṭihasta' ) and its left with some indistinct object in it is placed on his breast ; a sword hangs down from the waist and a heavy cloak covers its body up to the knees ; the locks of hair are well-arranged and its ears seem to be adorned with ornaments. None of these figures of a very early date found among the different architectural remains of Central and Eastern India represents Sūrya, neither do all of them stand for Indo-Greek kings ; but they are without doubt the representations of alien nationals some of whom were pre-eminently responsible for reshaping the Sun-cult of ancient India.

The initial stages in the cult re-orientation can be ascertained with the help of some sculptures of the first two or three centuries of the Christian era, that hail from Gandhāra and Mathura. A small figure of Sūrya in black slate from one of the Gandhāra sites shows the god seated at ease on a chariot drawn by four horses ; it being in an indifferent state of preservation, the objects in its hands and its other features are not clear. But in conformity to the earlier indigenous tradition the solar chariot is drawn by four horses, and the arrow-shooting figures are present. The deity is clad in heavy tunic and is wearing boots ; one or two bearded Atlantes cower beneath the chariot-wheel, this feature being reminiscent of the demons of darkness referred to above. The Gandhāra artists seem to have been well conversant with the indigenous iconic motifs, but they undoubtedly remodelled them according to their own convention and according to the needs of the transformed cult. The sculptors of Mathura were fashioning near about the same time numbers of images of a peculiar character, some of which can undoubtedly be identified as those of the sun god. The Mathura Museum contains several red sandstone sculptures of the Śaka-Kuṣāṇa period which, though differing from one another in some details, form a class by themselves. They are seated figures, some shown riding in a chariot drawn by four horses, while in the case of others the chariot with the horses is either completely absent, or faint traces of it and

two of the horses are discernible. They are usually dressed in the northern fashion ('udīcyaveśa') and hold in their two hands either a lotus and a sword, or a mace and a sword, or other indistinct objects. These images are described by modern scholars as so many images of Sūrya or statues of some Kuṣāṇa kings according to the nature of their attributes. It has already been suggested by me in my chapter on Viṣṇu ( III ) that a few of these sculptures may stand for Sāmba, one of the five Vṛṣṇivīras. Others may represent secular chiefs of foreign nationality, especially those that do not show the chariot, and the horses, or the lotus flower in the hand ; this is the character of the Mathura Museum exhibit which shows a royal personage dressed in tunic and boots with a mace and a shaft or a sword in its two hands seated on a throne flanked by lions and marked in front by a fire altar ( Coomaraswamy, 'HIA', p. 68, fig. 64 ). But there is no doubt that many of these reliefs depict the Sun god in which the Iranian features are predominant. One of the earliest such figures recovered from the Saptasamudri well three-fourth of a mile south of Mathura (exhibit no. D. 46 in the local museum) shows the god sitting on his haunches inside a one-wheel car drawn by four horses, holding indistinct objects in his two hands (probably a lotus in the right and a short sword in the left); he is dressed in heavy tunic, and though the legs are not visible there are traces of top-boots. The solar character is further emphasised by the sun-disc or nimbus behind him and the short wings attached to the shoulders. He has long locks and he wears a a torque round his neck. Vogel says about it, "It is deserving of note that his shoulders are provided with small wings, as we find in Garuḍa figures" ('M.M. Catalogue', p. 105 ; Coomaraswamy, 'op. cit.' p. 68, fig. 103). Wings which distinctly emphasise the R̥gvedic bird concept about the sun, are seldom found attached to the figures of Sūrya proper, and we know of no other similar sculpture in which they are present. The above relief thus clearly emphasises how at such an early date, the indigenous and foreign elements are blended together in the evolution of the cult-icon. Exhibit no. 894 in the same Museum hailing from Palikhera and belonging to the first century A.D. shows the Sun god holding a dagger and wearing boots, long

coat and trousers, but without any wings. Such motifs persisted up to the early Gupta period in the Mathura region as is shown by the Sūrya figure in the Mathura Museum (it is without any number); it has a flaming halo, holds a staff or sword by its top in its left hand and a lotus bud with stalk in its right. The much damaged torso and head of an image of probably the sun god in the collection of the same Museum (D.I.) need be discussed in this connection. Vogel described the image in this way, "Torso and head (ht. 1' 6½") of an image of Sūrya (?), the sun god. Remnants of circular halo. Face considerably injured. He wears a helmet, fastened under the chin by means of a strap. Long curly locks falling down on both shoulders. Thin moustache (?). He is clad in a cuirass over which appears a very elaborate necklace. A scarf thrown over both the shoulders is fastened in a knot on the left breast. A double-cord girdle is tied round the loins and fastened in front' ('op. cit.', p. 94). Agrawala observes about the same image, "Another example which reflects the intercourse with the Pārasīkas (Persians) is an important bust which wears frizzled bushy hair, a bearded chin, knotted scarf and cuirass. The bearded head reminds us of the description of the Persians given by Kālidāsa in his 'Raghuvamśa' (IV. 63) where the bearded heads of the Persians are compared to the bee-hives covered with black laces. Another marked Sassanian feature on this image is the 'sun and moon' symbol on the 'kulāh' cap." The other example also referred to by Agrawala in this connection is the exhibit no. 513, representing a unique figure of Piṅgala, one of the two principal attendants of Sūrya, "holding a pen in right hand and an inkpot in the left and clad in 'kulāh' cap and Iranian coat".<sup>1</sup>

The extant Sūrya images of the early Gupta period are not very many in number; they, however, seldom fail to show most of the alien features already mentioned. But the gradual idealisation of these traits and preponderance of Indian elements had already begun from the late Gupta period. A description of a few of the early and late Gupta and early and late mediaeval images of the god hailing from northern and eastern

1. V. S. Agrawala, 'Handbook of the Sculptures in the Curzon Museum of Archaeology, Muttra', p. 52.



India will show that the earlier the sculpture, the more prominent and less idealised are the foreign traits, the Indian elements being comparatively few. The Niyamatpur and Kumarpur (Rajshahi, Bengal), as well as Bhumara (Nagod State, Central India), reliefs bear a remarkable affinity to the Kushan Sūrya figures of Mathura as regards their dress and general characteristics; they are, however, all shown standing and the chariot is absent. The Niyamatpur sculpture is made out of coarse grained sandstone; the god stands on a low pedestal between two dwarf attendants (Daṇḍī and Piṅgala) wearing a flat cap with a lotus halo, and a long coat gathered to the waist by a belt; he holds a pair of lotus blossoms. The attendants seem to wear 'kulāh' caps, and are dressed like the principal figure; the right one holds a disproportionately long staff in his right hand, while the left, a pen and an inkpot (a little indistinct in the relief).<sup>1</sup> The Bhumara Sūrya carved inside a 'caitya'-window panel (many such panels with different Brāhmaṇical divinities have been found there, they must have served as architectural decoration of the main temple of Śiva at Bhumara) has been described by R. D. Banerjee thus: 'The god is standing and has two hands. There is a plain halo behind his head and he wears a tall cylindrical head-dress. In his left hand he holds a lotus, while his right hand is damaged (it must also have held a lotus). The god wears long boots of soft leather and long coat, tied at the waist with a sash. He is attended by two men who wear peculiarly long Scythian coats tied with a belt, and long boots. They also wear tall pointed conical caps like the Scythians. The figure on the right holds a lance or spear in his right hand while that on the left holds a lotus. The horses of the sungod, either seven or four in number, are absent.'<sup>2</sup> The late Gupta and early mediaeval Sūrya images of northern India differ from the above in this respect that they are far more elaborate in their presentation than the above. In the icons of the mediaeval times, a definite tendency to the grouping and arrangement of the attendants of the god is discernible.

1. S. K. Saraswati, 'Early Sculpture of Bengal,' p. 12, pl. 1. The boots on the legs of the three figures are not distinct.

2. 'M.A.S.I.' No, 16 ( 'The Temple of Śiva at Bhumara' ), p. 18, pl. XIVa.

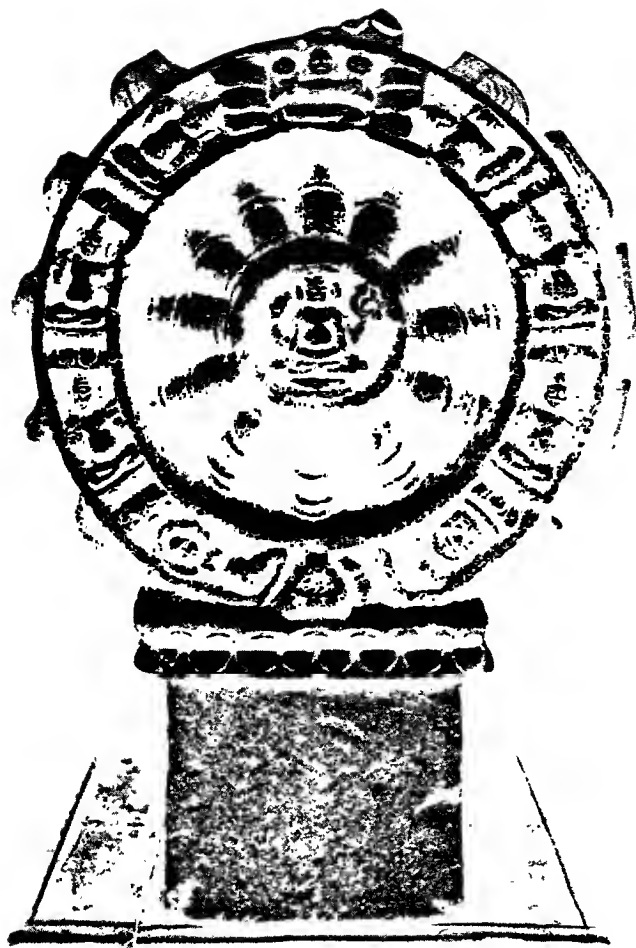
The essential features of the common variety of North Indian Sun icons are the following: the seven-horsed and one-wheeled chariot of Sūrya with Aruṇa as the driver; the sun-god with his legs covered, wearing bodice and jewels, with his two hands carrying two full-blown lotuses (or rarely two bunches of lotuses), his head adorned with 'kīṛṭa-makūṭa' (this sort of Indian crown is already found on the head of Bhumara Sūrya); his two male attendants, one on each side, holding pen and ink-pot and sword, two female figures on either side in the 'ālīḍha' and 'pratyālīḍha' poses shooting arrows, and two, three or four more female attendants (usually described as his consorts, Rājñī, Savarṇā, Chāyā and Nikṣubhā); in some mediaeval sun-reliefs of eastern India, as will be shown afterwards, Mahāśvetā or Pṛthvī is shown in front of the main figure just above Aruṇa. The figure of sun, and sometimes the figures of the male and rarely even of the female companions too, have their feet encased in some sort of leggings. Occasionally the legs of Sūrya and his principal attendants are left uncarved and shown as inserted in the pedestal or what stands for the chariot.<sup>1</sup> Another feature of this sun image is the peculiar girdle or waist zone already alluded to. This is described in the iconographic texts as 'avyaṅga' and has been rightly identified by scholars with the Avestan 'aiwiyaonghana', the sacred woollen thread girdle, which a Zoroastrian is enjoined to wear round the waist. The boots, the close-fitting bodice-like garment and the waist-zone are the most prominent features of this type of Sūrya image, and their bearing on its evolution will have to be duly considered.

One of the earliest descriptions of the sun-icons is found in the 'Bṛhatsaṃhitā' (ch. 57,) of Varāhamihirā, a representative writer of the sixth century A. D. It reads: 'Nāsālālāṭajaṅghorugaṇḍavakṣāṃsi connatāni Raveḥ | Kuryādudīcyaveśaṃ gūḍhaṃ pādāduro yāvat | Vibhrāṇassvakararuhe pāṇibhyāṃ paṅkaje mukuṭadhārī | Kuṇḍalabhūṣitavadanaḥ pralambahārī viyadga (viyaṅga) vṛtaḥ | Kamalodara-dyutimukhaḥ kañcuka guptaḥ smitaprasannamukhaḥ | Ratnojvalapra-

1. Cf. the eastern Indian sun images in the collection of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, the V.R.S. Museum, Rajshahi, the Asutosh Museum, Calcutta University, etc. Some Ellora Sūrya images show the legs of the god and his attendants inside the chariot (T.A.G. Rao, 'Elements of Hindu Iconography', Vol. I, part II, p. 313, pl. LXXXVIII, fig. 2.).

bhāmaṇḍalaśca karttuḥ śubhakarō'rkah'. It can be freely translated into English as follows: "The nose, forehead, the shins and the thighs, the cheek and the chest of the sun (image) are raised. He is dressed in the fashion of a northerner, (the body) from the feet up to the breast is hidden (covered). He wears a crown and holds two lotus flowers by their stalks along his arms. His face is adorned with earrings, he wears a long necklace and a 'viyadga' (or 'rasanā' which is another Indian name of the Zoroastrian sacred girdle). His face possesses the lustre of the inside of a lotus and is lit up with a pleasant smile; it is covered with a cheek plate.<sup>1</sup> He has a halo shining with the brightness of jewels. Such (an image of) the sun brings good to its maker". This text does not say anything about the chariot, the horses and other attendants of the god whose image only is described in detail. The 'Viṣṇudharmottara' which appears to have been composed somewhat later does not only contain the details in full, but goes on to explain the symbolism underlying many of them. The text lays down, "The sun should be made with an auspicious moustache; he should be of the bright red colour of vermillion. He should wear the dress of a northerner, should be of good form and adorned with all ornaments. Of great effulgence and endowed with four arms, he should be covered by a coat of mail; should wear a waist girdle ('rasanā') known as 'Yāvīyāṅga' (avyāṅga). In his right and left hands are to be shown sun-beams (as reins), and on his upper part should be displayed rows of auspicious garlands made of different kinds of flowers. Daṇḍī bearing a beautiful form is to be placed in his left, and Piṅgala of a deep tawny colour in his right. They should be dressed like a northerner and two of the hands of sun god should be placed on their heads. Piṅgala of dark tawny colour is to be made with a (palm) leaf and a pen in his hands, and the other (attending) god (Daṇḍī) should hold a shield and a trident. A lion standard is to be placed on the left of Sūrya, and his four sons, Revanta, Yama and two Manus, are to be shown

1. 'Kañcuka' means armour, coat of mail; but in this context it would mean a cheek plate as is clearly shown in the damaged torso of the sun-god in the Mathura Museum (D. I.) already described.





by his sides. Or Ravi, the king of the planets, should be surrounded by planets. Further, he is to have on his both sides his wives, Rājñī, Rikṣubha (Nikṣubhā in the 'Viśvakarmāvatāra Śāstra'), Chāyā and the goddess Suvarccasā. The god with Aruṇa as his charioteer, should be shown seated inside an one-wheeled hexagonal chariot (drawn by) seven horses.<sup>1</sup> This elaborate description of the Sūrya image in the 'Viṣṇudharmottara' can be compared with more or less similar ones in such north Indian texts as 'Matsya Purāṇa', 'Agni Purāṇa', 'Viśvakarmāvatāra Śāstra', etc., on the one hand, and those in such south Indian works as 'Suprabhedāgama', 'Śilparatna', etc., on the other. The former group including the 'Bṛhatsamhitā' passage quoted above almost invariably write about the covering of the body and the legs of the god, and some among them refer also to his waist girdle ('avyaṅga'); a few of them also contain the name of Nikṣubhā as one of his four wives. The South Indian Āgamas and the Śilpāśāstras, on the other hand, usually omit reference to such details, describing in general the images of Sūrya and the Dvādaśādityas. The 'Pūrvakāraṇāgama' account of the figures of the sun god and the twelve Ādityas is an exception, for it refers not only to the one-wheeled chariot drawn by seven horses and driven by the charioteer ('ekacakrasasaptāśvasasārathimahāratham') but it also refers to the covering of the body ('kañcukāñcita-vigraham') and probably of the legs too ('pādaḥ sakataḥ'). This text also enjoins the placing of the twelve Ādityas in the Sūryamaṇḍala, who are named, Vaikartana, Vivasvān, Mārtāṇḍa, Bhāskara, Ravi, Lokaprakāśaka,

1. 'Viṣṇudharmottara', Bk. III, ch. 67, verses 2-11. The whole passage with slight changes here and there are incorporated in Rao's, 'Pratimālakṣaṇāni' ('Elements etc.', Vol. I, part I. App.c., pp. 87-88); but Rao says that it occurs in the 'Matsya Purāṇa'. The 'Matsya Purāṇa' verses, however, as quoted by R. D. Banerjee are different (cf. 'E.I.S.M.S.', p. 117; 'Matsya Purāṇa', ch. 261, verses 1-8). The Venkatesvara press edition of the 'Viṣṇudharmottara' contains the above passage, but there are several errors in it. The text explains the symbolism underlying the composition in this manner: "The seven horses of the solar chariot are the seven Vedic metres, 'Gāyatrī,' 'Uṣṇik,' 'Anuṣṭup,' 'Bṛhatī,' 'Pañkti,' 'Triṣṭup' and 'Jagatī'; his rays as the reins in his hands sustain the whole world; the lion on the standard by his side is none other than Dharma himself; the god supports the entire universe resting on his waist-girdle. His four wives Rājñī, Bhī (Nikṣubhā), Chāyā and Suvarccasā are the earth, the heavens, the shadow and lustre ('chāyā' and 'prabhā') respectively; as he is the source of all light the glorious god is of red colour; his body is hidden (covered—'gūḍhaḥ') because he is the possessor of unbearable effulgence (verses 12-16).

Lokasākṣī, Trivikrama, Āditya, Sūrya, Amṣumān and Divākara ; they are all two-armed, two-eyed, standing on lotus and holding lotuses in their hands, wearing red garment, sacred thread and ornaments.<sup>1</sup> The north Indian iconographic texts which do not expressly mention such foreign traits as the 'avyaṅga' appear to be later in point of date than the others which do so. The 'Viṣṇudharmottara' and the 'Matsya Purāṇa' try to explain away the covering of the body and the legs of the Sūrya image. One passage in the latter ( 261, 4 ) deserves attention in this connection ; it is 'Colakacchannavapuṣaṁ kvaciccitreṣu darśayet | Vastrayugmasamopetaṁ caraṇau tejasāvṛtau' ('in certain sculptures, the body should be shown as covered by garments, a pair of cloth, and the feet should appear as hidden by the effulgence of the god' ). This observation of the author of the Purāṇa distinctly proves that the alien traits of the sun icon were not universal ; they were absent in the south of India, and mediaeval Sūrya reliefs with the legs uncovered are not unknown.

The images with the foreign features are undoubtedly connected with that form of sun worship, Mihira or Mithra cult, which was introduced here from outside from eastern Iran. It has been accepted almost unanimously by scholars that the main branch of the Śaka immigrants entered into India indirectly through the Bolan pass, after their long stay in eastern Iran, and it is almost certain that they were responsible for bringing this cult with them. The 'Bhaviṣya', the 'Śāmba', the 'Vārāha' and other Purāṇas refer to myths about its mode of introduction in this country from Śakadvīpa ( Sakastan or Seistan in eastern Iran ). The main story underlying them is as follows : 'Śāmba, the son of Kṛṣṇa by Jāmbavatī, was afflicted by leprosy due to a curse of his father, and was advised to worship the sun, the curer of all maladies, for freeing him from the clutches of the fell disease. He worshipped the sun in the usual Indian way,

1. For the different texts, cf. Rao, ('op. cit', Vol. I, App.c.pp. 83-9 ). As the 'Pūrvakāraṇāgama', probably a south Indian work, seems to have been influenced by north Indian tradition, the 'Rūpamaṇḍana', a comparatively late north-Indian compilation, appears to have collected much of its matter from the south-Indian works ; in its account there is no explicit reference to the north-Indian details. The 'Pūrvakāraṇāgama' list of the names of the Dvādaśādītyas widely differs from the usual list already referred to.

but he was not cured. Then he was advised to build a temple of the god on the banks of the Candrabhāgā (the Chenub in the Punjab) and have an image of the sungod installed there. No local Brāhmaṇa agreeing to undertake the task of the installation and regular worship of the god, Śāmba was advised by Gauramukha, the chief priest of Kaṁsa's father Ugrasena, to bring the Magas from Śakadvīpa. Śāmba acted up to this advice, brought some Maga Brāhmaṇas from Śakadvīpa, had the image installed and worshipped by these priests according to their own mode and was completely cured of leprosy. Some of the Purāṇas narrate the history of the Magas. The Magas were descended from Jaraśasta, the son of Nikṣubhā, a daughter of one Sujihva, a Brāhmaṇa of the Mihira Gotra, with whom the sun god fell in love. The Magas were thus the remote descendants of the union of the sun god and Nikṣubhā. They wore an waist girdle called 'avyaṅga', and worshipped the sun in a special manner. It has long been proved that they were the same as the Magi, the priestly class of ancient Iran, and Jaraśabda, or Jaraśasta, their reputed ancestor, was none other than Zoroaster (Sans. Zarathustra), the great Iranian prophet of Avesta. Alberuni says that the ancient Persian priests came to India and became known as Magas. That this Arab encyclopaedist was only recording a very old tradition is fully proved by the statement of Varāhamihira, that the images of the sun god were only to be installed by the Magas according to their own rites ( *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*, II, Ch. 60,— 'magāṃśca savituḥ' ). The tradition about the sun temple at Candrabhāgā said to have been built by Śāmba must have been old, and the temple must have existed as early as the 7th century A. D. and even in much earlier times. Hiuen Tsang in his description of Mou-lo-san-pu-lu ( *Mūlasthānapura*, modern Multan on the Chenab ) says, 'among the temples of other religions ( other than Buddhism ) was a magnificent one to Sūrya-deva ; the image was of gold ornamented with precious substances, it had marvellous powers and its merits had extended far ; there was a constant succession of females performing music, lights were kept burning all night, and, incense and flowers were continually offered'. The temple and the image are also described by some Arab geographers.



It has been tacitly assumed by scholars that the peculiar type of the Sūrya image, which was worshipped all over northern India from the Gupta period onwards and even earlier, was derived from an Iranian prototype. This view is partially correct, but the Iranian prototype itself was derived from some other source. The early Iranians themselves were not in the habit of worshipping images, and our search for an image of Mithra would be in vain, at least before Mithraism itself was to a great extent Hellenised. Mithra in old Persian monuments was represented by a symbol, as Sūrya used to be in the Vedic period and even afterwards. Thus, for example, in one of the friezes on one of the four 'dakhmas' (sepulchres) of Darius close to the site of ancient Istakhr near Naqsh-i-Rustam, 'between the king and fire-altar appears Ahura Mazda hovering above, and a ball which is certainly meant to represent the sun or Mithra'. According to the writer of the article 'Mithraism' in the 'Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics' (Vol. 8, p. 753), 'the busts of Sun and Moon and the circle of the Zodiac are standing features in the Mithraic monuments'. But these busts of the sun were not really the prototypes of the usually accepted form of the cult picture in the remodelled Sūrya worship of northern India. The busts themselves seem to have made their appearance after Mithraism was very thoroughly Hellenised. The dynasts of the near east who divided amongst themselves the eastern half of Alexander's empire were devout worshippers of Mithra. It was undoubtedly in the courts of those kings that the Hellenisation of Mithraism was done, which brought about its further diffusion. The fully anthropomorphic representation of Mithra in ancient art was due to this factor, and the type of Apollo-Helios, the Greek solar divinities, served as the original of this Mithra, as the Greeks saw in him a divinity very nearly resembling their own solar deities. That the Hellenes of Asia Minor identified this form of Mithra with their own solar and planetary gods is shown by a monument set up by Antiochus I of Commagene (69-38 B.C.); in the 'enormous cairn of the tumulus of Nimrud Dagh' are five sculptures, one of which has the inscription, Apollo-Mithras-Helios-Hermes. On another relief Antiochus is represented as grasping the right hand of Mithra

'who is represented in Persian dress with the radiate nimbus'. Now, we find the representation of Mithra-Mihira in the extreme north west border of India and in northern India on the coins of Kanishka and Huvishka. Described as MIIPO (there are various other spellings) the god is shown as wearing a sort of boot, with his extended right hand holding something (? a fillet or a lotus), his left hand clasping a sword hanging down from his waist; his body is heavily draped and his head, encircled by a radiate nimbus. On the reverse of several coins of Kanishka and Huvishka we see figures exactly similar to the one described above, but the inscription by its side in Greek is HELIOS. A comparison of these MIIPO or Helios devices of the Kushan coins should be made with the figures of Helios and Apollo on the coins of the Indo-Greek kings Telephus and Apollodotus II. The obverse and reverse devices of a rare silver coin of the former, a late Indo-Greek dynast in the extreme north-west of India, have been described by Gardner in this way ('B. M. C.', P. 171, Pl. XXXII, 7): 'Obverse—Giant (Skythes?), his body ending in three serpents; holds in each hand, hammer?. Reverse—Helios radiate facing clad in tunic and chlamys (a kind of cloak), holds long sceptre; beside him male figure wrapped in mantle, wearing wreath or horned' (it is the crescent on the top of the head). The figures on the reverse undoubtedly represent the deities sun and moon and in a distant way were the prototypes of MAO (Zoroastrian moon god) and MIIPO shown together on the reverse side of several gold coins of Huvishka.<sup>1</sup> The sun and moon on the reverse of Telephus' silver coin were for all practical purposes the Iranian sun god Mihira (Mithra) and the moon-god Mao, for in Greek mythology Selene, the moon, is a goddess. But the former must have been derived directly or indirectly from a still earlier representation of the solar divinity, Apollo, as shown on the obverse of some round and square coins of Apollodotus II. Apollo appears there as clad in chlamys and boots (the boots seem also to be present on the legs of Helios on Telephus' coin) holding in his left and right hands either a bow and an arrow, or simply an arrow

1. 'B. M. C.', p. 141, pl. XXVII. 24.

in both ( Gardner, 'op. cit.', 38-9, Pl. X, 5-9 ). There is some difference no doubt between the Mihira figures of the Kushan coins and Apollo on those of Apollodotus II ; in the case of the latter, the attributes differ, the nimbus is absent ( but Apollo as he appears on the obverse of Apollodotus I's coins is radiate ) and the drapery of the upper part of the body is somewhat dissimilar. But we should make some allowance for the age that intervened between these two types, and the Kushan drapery of the former and the different attributes were later developments.

Thus, it may be suggested with confidence that the Kushan 'Mihira' had for its prototype the Greek Apollo, as figured on some coins of a few of the Indo-Greek kings. We may compare with this the representation of Mithra in the Sassanian art of the subsequent times. Reference may be made here to such figures carved on the reliefs at Taq-i-Bustan. which have almost unanimously been identified by scholars as standing for Mithra.<sup>1</sup> One of the figures has been described thus, "The body is clothed in a tunic-like robe, belted at the waist and richly set off at the back by an embroidered border with tassels. His head is enriched by a halo of rays and his feet resting upon a heavily carved sun-flower, while he raises before him in both hands a long fluted staff. He has a foot-gear which appears to include spurs.....The sun flower beneath the feet of the image, an early symbol of sun worship, is a triple flower, and the stem from which it rises is clearly marked".<sup>2</sup> This relief cannot be dated earlier than the latter half of the third century A.D., and it illustrates the mode in which Mithra came to be represented in the Iranian art of this period. The Graeco-Roman artists of eastern Europe and western most Asia, on the other hand, laid much importance on the

1. Spiegel, 'Iranian Art', pp. 41-2 ; A. V. Williams Jackson, 'Persia Past and Present', p. 217 and plate.

2. A. V. Williams Jackson, 'op. cit.', pp. 217-18. Spiegel remarks about the other figure : "In the vicinity of the above relief is a panel containing three figures, the middle one is a king wearing a coat of mail, the left, a female figure, pours water from a vessel in her hand. The male figure on the right wears a diadem, a long beard, a mantle fastened over the breast hangs over its shoulders, it offers to the king the coronal circle. I do not doubt that the female figure on the left represents Anahita and figure on the right, Mithra" ( 'op. cit', p. 43 ).

legend about Mithra's having slain the Bull, and such monuments came to bear usually the representation of Mithra in the act of slaying the Bull. The most important point to be noted in this connection, however, is that Mithra who was originally represented in early Iranian art by some symbol as in early Indian art came to be depicted in human form after the cult of the Iranian Mithraism came in close contact with the Greeks of Asia Minor and was transformed to a great extent.

Now, should we seek to find in this Kushan Mithra-Mihira, or as a matter of fact in the Hellenistic Apollo, the real proto-type of the booted sun image of the Gupta and the early mediaeval periods in India? There is certainly some truth in the view that the expansion of image worship in India was to a great extent due to the close contact of her sons with the Hellenistic invaders of the country.<sup>1</sup> This expansion was also brought about by the activities and the exertions of the Śakas and Kushans who came in the wake of the Greeks and were largely influenced by their culture. The alien features of the north Indian Sūrya type undoubtedly show that it owed much for its evolution to the foreigners. But the type itself in its developed stage was no less an outcome of the genius of the indigenous artists of India. The alien elements were so entirely subdued in the comparatively late images of the god, that their non-Indian character was completely forgotten, and their faint traces were accounted for with the help of ingenious stories told by the Indian myth-makers. The artists of the country endowed the image of the god with all sorts of purely Indian ornaments such as, 'kiriṭa mukuṭa', 'keyūra', 'hāra', 'valaya', 'udarabandha', etc. They put two fullblossomed lotus flowers, the Indian emblems of the sun, in its hands; their conception of Sūrya as riding on a seven-horsed chariot accompanied by Ūṣā, Pratyūṣā and a few other of the attendant divinities, was also purely indigenous. Here is another instance of the Indian genius being responsible for wholly remodelling and giving a new and original character to a motif that was primarily non-Indian in nature up to a certain extent. Thus was the seated Ardochso of the Kushan coins fully transformed into the Indian

1. J. N. Banerjea, 'Development of Hindu Iconography', pp. 256-59.

Lakṣmī ('Kamalāsanā', 'Padmakarā') by the genius of the local artists on the coins of Chandraguṇṭha II and others. A very careful consideration of many of the sun images found all over northern India would enable us to lay down the general rule already outlined that the images in which the alien elements are most prominent, are as a class earlier in point of date than those in which they are least noticeable. The Sūrya figures of the extreme south of India, on the other hand, do not show any of these foreign features which were to a great extent overcome prior to their first introduction there. The iconographic texts as has already been shown, also testify to this fact ; these features which are more frequently and explicitly noticed in the texts of the earlier period, came to be ignored or at most figuratively explained away in those of the later period.

The legends that became current about the introduction of this form of sun-worship, with the peculiar type of the cult-picture, have been briefly referred to. But a few details require further elucidation for satisfactorily accounting for the peculiarities of the type. The Indians were not much familiar with the kind of foot-gear which is found worn by Sūrya and some of his companions, and so the writers of the iconographic texts enjoined that the images should be dressed like a northerner ( 'kuryādudīcyaveśam' ). A glance at the effigies of the Kushan monarchs like Wema Kadphises, Kanishka and others on the obverse of their coins or at the extant red sandstone statues of some of these emperors will at once enable us to understand the meaning of the term 'udīcyaveśa'. These alien monarchs were looked upon by the dwellers of the Indian plain as belonging to the northern regions. It is thus quite clear why such other constituents of the imperial Kushan dress as the peculiar boots, the heavy drapery, though Indianised afterwards to a great extent, the sword hanging down from the belt in a particular fashion, are shown on the person of Sūrya. It has been proved that Mihira of the Kushan coins and ultimately Apollo of the coins of a few of the Indo-Greek kings formed the original prototype of the Sūrya image. The 'avyaṅga' is not present on the person of Mihira on the coins ; but it must be borne in mind that the god there is covered from neck downwards with a heavy garment, which in the later Indian sculptures of Sūrya gave place to diaphanous drapery, and

in place of stress being laid on the Persian 'avyaṅga', various sorts of Indian ornaments like 'hāra', 'keyūra', jewelled 'kāñcīdāma' etc. were emphasised. In some of the earlier reliefs like the Bhumara Sūrya, these cannot be distinguished on account of the heaviness of the drapery.

A few other Indian deities are known who as enjoined in the texts are to be depicted wearing a northern dress. Hemādri, while describing the images of Citragupta and Dhanada (Kubera), says that both of them are to be shown as dressed like a northerner, and the latter is also to be endowed with a coat of mail ('kavaci'). Citragupta who should be placed on the right side of Yama is to hold a pen in his right hand and a leaf in his left.<sup>1</sup> Speaking from the iconographic point of view Citragupta is the same as Kuṇḍī or Piṅgala, the right-hand attendant of Sūrya; mythologically speaking also, there was some association between Sūrya and Yama, the latter being a son of the sungod by his wife Chāyā. The 'udīcyaveśa' of these deities was a little unusual to the image-makers, and the top-boots on their legs were somewhat unintelligible. The Indian iconographers liked to identify the heavy drapery of these figures with the 'kavaca' or coat of mail which they could comprehend. Varuṇa, one of the Indo-Aryan deities, is endowed with this coat of mail by the Vedic hymnist.<sup>2</sup> The Purāṇic writers utilised the Vedic story about the marriage of Saraṇyu, the daughter of Tvaṣṭar, with Vivasvant in their own way, and composed the elaborate legend about Sūrya's marrying Saṃjñā, the daughter of Viśvakarmā, her flight from him for his unbearable effulgence, and Viśvakarmā's attempt at reducing the unendurable 'tejas' of Sūrya, to explain the peculiar foot gear of the sun image. It is also told in the Purāṇic story that Viśvakarmā

1. 'Caturvargacintāmaṇi', 'Vratākhaṇḍa' (Bibliotheca Indica edition, Vol. II), pp. 145-46.

2. 'Rgveda', I. 25, 13—'wearing a golden coat of mail, Varuṇa veils himself in his radiance'.

3. The original story of Saraṇyu's marriage occurs as a 'brāhmadya' (a sort of a riddle or charade) in the majority of Vedic texts ('R. V.', I. 164; 'A. V.', IX. 9 & 10; 'Vājasaneyī Samhitā', XXIII. 9-12; 49-52; 61-62 etc.). In brief it appears to be something like this: 'Tvaṣṭar was instituting a marriage pageant for his daughter Saraṇyu; at this news all the people of this earth came together. Yama's mother (she became so after her marriage), while being married with mighty Vivasvant, disappeared. They hid away the immortal woman from the mortals; making a 'savarṇā' ('a like one', cf. the 'Chāyā' or 'the shadow likeness' of the Purāṇic develop-

put the sun on his lathe ('śāna-yantra') and dimmed his brightness by peeling much of it from the upper part of his body, leaving his legs untouched. Some texts like the 'Matsya Purāṇā' say that his legs were covered by his 'tejas'; their authors strictly enjoin that they are on no account to be shown bare by the sculptor. Any sculptor violating this peremptory injunction will do so at the risk of becoming a leper for seven consecutive births ('saptajanmasu kuṣṭhī syāt'). This story as well as the relevant iconographic texts which notice this peculiar feature of the sun icon show clearly that usually the types of the icons were evolved at first and then rules were laid down in correspondence with the type already arrived at for the future construction of such images. It has already been remarked how gradually this alien feature of the image was forgotten, and the south Indian sculptor had no fear of being attacked with leprosy when he carved the image of the god with his legs bare, long after the booted Sūrya was sculptured for the first time by his brother artists in northern India. The close covering of the early north Indian Sūrya images seems also to have been at the root of the epic account of a physical peculiarity of Karna, born of the union of the sun god and Kuntī in her virgin state, and the 'Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa' story about Revanta, a son of Sūrya by Samjñā. The 'Mahābhārata' tells us that when Karna was born, he had a coat of mail on his body and ear-rings on his ears. The 'Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa' writes that Revanta was born with sword, shield and armour, mounted on horseback, furnished with arrows and a quiver ('Mbh', I. iii, 18-19; 'Mārka. Pur', ch. 71, 24).

Before describing a few mediaeval sculptures of Sūrya of a representative character some general observations need be made about the principal types of such images. Several iconographic texts endow Sūrya with two hands, while others give him four (cf. the 'Viṣṇudharmottara'

ment) they gave her to Vivasvant. Afterwards she bore him the Aśvins who were abandoned by her.' This was undoubtedly the background of the elaborate story of Sūrya, Samjñā and Chāyā as narrated by the authors of some of the Purāṇas. Savarnā, another name of Chāyā in the Purāṇas, occurs in the story of Saranyu. For the Vedie myth, cf. M. Bloomfield's note on 'The Marriage of Saranyu, Tvaṣṭar's daughter' in the 'Journal of the American Oriental Society', Vol. 15, 1893, pp. 172-88.

description of Sūrya already quoted). Reliefs of the god with two hands usually shown in a standing posture hail from every part of this country. But his images or those of his different aspects with four hands (and very rarely six) are also not unknown (some of them will be described later) ; seated figures of the god also, though rare, have been discovered. One of the earliest seated four-armed images of the god is that which was the principal object of worship in the sun temple at Multan traditionally associated with Śāmba. H. Thsang's reference to it has already been quoted, but the Chinese pilgrim does not give us a detailed description of the image itself which is not extant. Some of the Arab geographers, however, supply us with a vivid description of the figure. Abu Ishak al Istakhri who flourished about the middle of the tenth century A. D., writes, "The idol is human in shape and is seated with its legs bent in quadrangular (squat) posture, on a throne made of brick and mortar. Its whole body is covered with a redskin-like morocco leather, and nothing but its eyes are visible.....The eyes of the idol are precious gems, and its head is covered with a crown of gold. It sits in a quadrangular position on the throne, its hands resting upon its knees, with the fingers closed so that only four can be counted". This account does not specifically mention the number of hands, but perhaps the author has confused hands with fingers. Al Idrisi is more to the point, for after giving an almost similar description of the image he says, 'its arms, below the elbow, seem to be four in number'. Idrisi observes further that 'there is no idol in India or in Sind which is more highly venerated'.<sup>1</sup> A copy of its bust (only the head, neck and part of the breast) was recognised by some in the reverse device of a king Vāhi-(al Shāhi-) Tigin who probably ruled over Multan about the beginning of the sixth century A. D. or a century later. V. A. Smith describes it in this manner, "Bust of deity facing, wearing crown ; head surrounded by flames rising to a point in broad margin, two circles below, and at top and sides crescents enclosing stars, as on coins of Jamasp. Well-engraved Pahlavi legends as read by Thomas : 1. 'Saf tansaf tef'

1. Elliot, 'History of India', Vol. I. (1867), p. 28 and 82. The Arab rulers of Sind utilised to their advantage the great sanctity of the image and its temple to the Hindus ; whenever the latter, especially the Gurjara-Pratihāras, seemed to get the upper hand over them, they threatened to break the image and demolish the temple, and their Hindu rivals immediately withdrew.



probably meaning 'Śrī Tansaf deva', the name of the deity, supposed to be the sun-god of Multan...<sup>1</sup> But the hands of the god are not shown, though close covering of the breast is fully indicated.<sup>2</sup> Other seated images of Sūrya have been noticed by T. A. G. Rao and a few more will be described by me presently.<sup>3</sup> Another mediaeval type depicts the sun-god riding on a horse unaccompanied by any attendants. The 'Agni Purāṇa' (ch. 51) and the 'Śrī Viśvakarmāvatāra Śāstra' (ch. 28) describes it in similar language-'Athavāśvasamārūḍha kārya ekastu Bhāskarah. In the much damaged sun-temple at Konarak (Orissa), such a Sūrya figure known by the name of Haridaśva appears in the role of a 'Pārśvadevatā' placed on the outside niche of one of the walls of the main shrine. T. A. G. Rao has noted down the principal features which usually differentiate a north-Indian Sūrya from a south Indian one. The latter, as a rule, has its hands raised to the height of the shoulders which hold only half-blossomed lotuses; it shows an 'udarabandha', but its legs and feet are always left bare. Its north-Indian counter-part, on the other hand, has its hands usually stretched to the level of its hips or elbows, and the hands hold full-blown lotuses by their stalks, the flowers themselves opening out on either side of the neck; its feet and legs are covered by foot gear resembling boots and socks. In place of the 'stomach-band' ('udarabandha') it wears a thin cloth or a sort of coat of mail on its body. The south Indian type occasionally shows the seven horses with Aruṇa, the driver of the chariot, and those images which belong to the extreme south and the Tamil districts of the Madras Presidency do not show any attendant deities like Daṇḍī,

1. V. A. Smith, 'Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum', Vol. I, p. 234, pl. XXVI. 1.; E. J. Rapson, 'Indian Coins', pp. 30-31. The deity also appears on the reverse of coins of one Vāsudeva of the same period (1st half of the 7th century A. D., according to Rapson), who describes himself in his Pahlavi coin legends as 'King of Bāhman (- Bāhmanavāsi or Brahmanabad, the capital of Sind), Multan, Tukan (- Punjab), Zabulistan, and Sapardalaksan (perhaps-Rajputana)'. But 'Sapa (r) dalakṣa (n)' may very well stand for the Siwaliks in the south-east Punjab.

2. 'Tef' in Pahlavi may be the transliteration of 'deva', but 'tansaf' or 'saf-tansaf' can hardly be connected with the various names of Sūrya. Besides R. B. Whitehead has shown that this figure cannot be identified as the sun-god of Multan: 'India Antiqua', p. 326-29. Cf. also his observations in Numismatic Chronicle, 1937, p. 60-72.

3. 'Elements etc.', Vol. I, pl. LXXXIX (a relief from Chitorgadh, Mewar), pl. LXXXVIII, fig. 1 (Bronze, Madras Museum), fig. 3 (marble, Rajputana, it is four armed).

Piṅgala, and the various goddesses. The Sūrya images of the Karṇāṭa-deśa ( Kanarese country ) and the southern Marhatta region, corresponding roughly to the old Cālukya and Hoysālā kingdoms have almost invariably two accompanying goddesses one on each side. "The common features of both the southern and northern varieties of Sūrya are that the head is in all cases adorned with a 'kirīṭa', surrounded by a circular halo or 'prabhāmaṇḍala', and that in several instances the characteristic, seven horses and their driver Aruṇa, is missing." Rao has substantiated his observations by referring to a number of Sūrya reliefs of the mediaeval period hailing from different parts of India, mostly south India, a good many of which have been reproduced in his book.<sup>1</sup>

Images of Sūrya belonging to the mediaeval and earlier periods have been found all over India. But there are some regions where they are more in evidence than in others. The reasons for their comparative frequency in the north have already been explained ; the eastern and western zones of this part of India again abound in such image types. It is presumable that the descendants of the Maga Brāhmaṇas settled in large numbers in these tracts. A class of Brāhmaṇas, known as Ācāryas in eastern India, specially Bengal and Orissa, who took to the profession of astrology and sooth-saying, came to be known as the 'Daivajñās'; their connection with the ancient Magas is demonstrable. They were the main section of the Sauras, and had the images made for their use, which were also worshipped by the general people for the purpose of averting diseases and other evils. Besides the sun temple at Multan traditionally associated with Śāmba, there is clear reference to the existence of solar shrines in northern India from a very early period. One of the earliest sun temples is said to have stood in the city of Takṣaśilā, when Apollonius visited it in about 44 A. D., during the reign of the Indo-Parthian king Gondophares. Philostratus, the biographer of Apollonius, says that the latter saw inside the city ( now occupied by the excavated site of

1. T. A. G. Rao, 'op. cit.' Vol. I, pp. 311-12, Pls. LXXXVI, LXXXVII, XC, XCI, XCII, XCIII etc.

Sirkap) a temple of the sun god and a royal palace (Vit. Apoll., II, 24). A reference in this connection to a very interesting sculpture in grey Taraki sandstone unearthed from stratum II of Sirkap, the intermediate city site of Taxila in occupation during the Śaka-Pahlava period will not be out of place. This is a cult statue of a standing male deity, the figure although free-standing being in alto-relievo, with flat unworked back. Marshall describes it thus, "He is wearing a tunic tied by a cord at the waist and reaching to the knees, a long shawl or 'himation' twisted round the arms, high boots, necklace. The outstretched right forearm, which was attached by a tenon and socket is missing, and the face, mutilated. .... The high boots suggest that the image may represent the Sun God".<sup>1</sup> Mathura and its adjoining regions in the Śaka-Kushan period were very intimately associated with the re-orientated sun cult and copious references are to be found in the Purāṇas, like the 'Bhaviṣya', 'Varāha', 'Śāmba' and others to the solar shrines in the locality. Images of the sun god peculiar to this region and belonging to the 2nd and 3rd centuries of the Christian era have already been described. The central and western India also abounded in solar shrines that were erected there in the Gupta and post-Gupta periods. The Mandasor stone inscription of the time of Kumāragupta I refers to the erection there of a magnificent temple of the sun 'which touches the sky, as it were, with charming spires' in 437-38 A. D., by a band of silk weavers who were immigrants from the Lāṭa 'vishaya', or central and southern Gujrat, into the city of Dasapura (modern Dasor or Mandasor in the Gwalior state in its western Malwa division). The same guild was also responsible for its restoration about 36 years later, when part of it fell into disrepair. It is of interest to note that some of them, 'possessed of high aims', were masters in the science of astrology, and it is presumable that they were the descendants of some of the Iranian settlers in India. The Indor (Bulandshahr district, U. P.) copper plate inscription

1. 'J. R. A. S.' 1947, pts. 1 & 2, p. 11, pl. VI, fig. 9. Marshall suggests that it may even represent Pharro (the fire God) a well represented figure on the coins of Kanishka and Huvishka; on the coins Pharro is shown wearing the same high boots as the sun god and in other respects is very similar to him. The fire cult and the sun cult, in any case, were very similar to one another, and the relief in question may be that of the Iranian Sūrya.

of the time of Skandagupta records a perpetual endowment by a Brāhmaṇa for the purpose of maintaining a lamp in a temple of the Sungod at Indrapura. Burgess in his 'Architectural Antiquities of Northern Gujrat' (A. S. W. I., New Imperial Series, Vol. IX) mentions the discovery of many old sun temples (from the Gupta to the late mediaeval periods) from Multan down to Cutch. Wide spread prevalence of the sun cult all over Gujrat from the late Gupta period onwards is substantiated by a number of inscriptions and the distribution of monumental remains of the cult at Moḍherā (11th century A. D.), Thāna and Prabhāsa (14th century A. D.), as well as by the discovery of numerous stone sculptures of the pantheon.<sup>1</sup> The existing Mārtāṇḍ temple most probably built by king Lalitāditya Mukṭāpīḍa in the middle of the 8th century A. D. testifies to the existence of this cult in Kashmir in the early mediaeval period; the same king also built a temple of Āditya at Lāṭapur. Though hardly any figure of Sūrya has been found there (the figure sculptures of the shrine are mostly mutilated beyond recognition), one can recognise the figure of Aruṇa, Sūrya's charioteer, holding the reins of his seven horses on one of the eastern wall of the temple.<sup>2</sup> Hiuen Tshang refers to a sun temple of Kanauj; he says that besides many sacred Buddhist building near the city, there were splendid temples to the sun-god and to Maheśvara respectively (Watters, 'On Yuan Chwang', Vol. I, p. 352). The mediaeval sun temple at Konārak, Orissa, designed in the shape of a huge chariot on wheels is an evidence of the prevalence of the cult in this region. Tradition associates different parts of Orissa with some of the principal Brāhmaṇical cults; the Ekāmraḥṣetra at Bhuvaneśvara was specially associated with Śaivism, the Śrī-Kṣetra at Puri, with Vaiṣṇavism, Virajākṣetra at Jajpur, with Śāktism, and the great Orissan king Lāṅguliya Narasiṃha Varman of the Keśarī dynasty erected the magnificent shrine of Sūrya in the Arka-Kṣetra at Konārak. The Konārak temple was the most magnificent shrine dedicated to the worship of Sūrya in the east, and could vie very well in the excellence of its style and execution with its sister shrine of Moḍherā in the west. Temples in South India exclusively dedicated to the worship of the sun-god and the planets are extremely rare,

1. H. D. Sankalia 'The Archaeology of Gujrat', pp. 212-14.

2. R. C. Kak, 'Ancient Monuments of Kashmir' p. 133.

and thus the temple of Sūrya in the village of Sūryanārkoyil in the Tanjore district is interesting. The inscriptions found in the temple walls show 'that it was built in the reign of Kulottuṅgacholadeva (A. D. 1060-1118), and was called Kulottuṅgachola—Mārttaṇḍālaya'; the village evidently derived its name from the shrine.<sup>1</sup>

The principal features characteristic of the north-Indian and South-Indian Sūrya images of the mediaeval period have already been noted. It will be necessary now to study a few representative types from each group not only to illustrate their differences, but also to notice a process of development which some of the eastern Indian varieties show. The bluish basalt stone image of Sūrya discovered at Deora (Bogra) and now in the collection of the Rajshahi Museum undoubtedly shows some development in the treatment of the iconic type not present in the Niyāmatpur, Kumār-pur or Bhumara Sūrya reliefs already described. It is not much removed in point of date from the Bhumara sculpture, but it introduces many new specialities absent in the latter. It must be noted, however, that the Bhumara Sūrya was an accessory figure, appearing inside one of the 'caitya windows in a temple dedicated to Śiva, while the Deora Sūrya seems to have been the principal object of worship in a solar shrine. The number of attendants has increased, for besides Daṇḍī and Piṅgala (not shown bearded here as he is usually depicted in the later reliefs), the charioteer Aruṇa in the middle and the arrow-shooting goddesses Uṣā and Pratyusā are on either side on the same plane. Sūrya stands with a circular halo round the head, holding a lotus stalk in each of his two hands, which sprouts upward parallel to his ears in a bunch of one big and two tiny blossoms; he wears a flat 'kirīṭa-mukuṭa', a short necklace apparently of beads and bracelets; he is clad in a 'dhoti' tied round the waist by a girdle clasped in front, with a sword hanging by his left side. The boots on his legs are only partially visible, for much of the latter is inserted into the 'tri-ratha' chariot pedestal as we find in the sun relief from Ellora or in the Kāsipur (24 Parganas) Sūrya of approximately the same or a little earlier date. The Kushan dress has no doubt disappeared, but the sacred thread on the body of Sūrya, and his different attendants like the Mahāśvetā and the other

1. T. A. G. Rao, 'op. cit.', Vol. I, p. 300.





consorts, features almost invariably present in such reliefs of the Pāla period, have not yet made their appearance. The way in which the curls are treated and the 'trivalī' marks are shown on the throat, the plain circular halo with beaded border, the long sword tied with a slanting strap on the left side, all such peculiarities as well as the very chaste treatment of the whole theme, show that it is a fine relic of Bengal sculpture of the late Gupta period. The Kāshipur Sūrya now in the collection of the Asutosh Museum, Calcutta University, though similar to the above in its general outline, bears lesser details. Aruṇa and probably the arrow-shooting goddesses (broken away) are the only companions of the god; the chariot is clearly outlined, and the way in which the horses are treated and the two demons of darkness (?) are shown beneath the chariot reminds us of an earlier tradition. The Kāshipur Sūrya, although a little damaged is also a fine example of late Gupta art in Bengal. Another Sūrya figure, a bronze or octo-alloy ('aṣṭadhātu') miniature about 6' in height, unearthed with an inscribed image of Śarvāṇī from Chauddagrām (Tipperah district) and now in the collection of the Dacca Museum, follows the Deora composition in many of its details, though it depicts the main figure as seated. The miniature is undoubtedly a remarkable specimen of east Indian art of the 7th-8th century A. D.'<sup>1</sup>

The next stage in the development of the Sūrya motif is illustrated by the remarkable sculpture in the collection of the South Kensington Museum, London. St. Kramrisch was the first to draw the attention of scholars to this fine example of early Pāla art in the pages of the now defunct art Journal, 'Rūpam' (Vol. 40). All the companions of the sungod are grouped on either side of his figure, almost in a line, with the arrow-shooting figures of Uṣā and Partyuṣā shown just above their heads; unlike the Deora and Kāshipur sculptures, all the figures stand out of the chariot pedestal with their legs heavily booted. But the treatment of the lotus bunch in the hands of Sūrya as well as of the long sword attached by a strap to his left side distinctly reminds

1. 'Dacca History of Bengal', Vol. I, pp 456-57; S. K. Saraswati, 'Early Sculpture of Bengal', pp. 91-92; N. K. Bhattasali, 'Catalogue of Buddhist and Brāhmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum', p. 172.



us of the other two. If a comparison is made between the above group of sculptures with the four Sūrya reliefs, one each from Bihar, west, north and east Bengal reproduced in Plate LIX of R. D. Banerjee's 'Eastern Indian School of Mediaeval Sculpture', we can clearly trace the process of the further development of the iconic type. The two sculptures hailing from Bihar and north Bengal are undoubtedly earlier than the two others from east and west Bengal, and they possess some peculiarities of the older group of Sūrya reliefs. The treatment of the broad sword hanging on the left side of the central deity, the parabolic 'prabhāvalī' of the two compositions, the 'kulāh' caps on the heads of Daṇḍī and Piṅgala, absence of any elaborate decoration, the separate 'prabhā'-s ( halos ) of the Rajshahi Museum figure ( R. M., No. Fa 5/176 ) and the absence of the two queens in the Bihar one ( Indian Museum, No. 3924 )—all these features prove that they belong to the early or middle Pāla period. The profuse ornamentation of the reliefs from western Bengal ( I.M., No. Ms. 8 ) and eastern Bengal ( Dacca district ), their pointed stela with the 'kīrtimukha' design on the top centre ( absent in the earlier group ), the arrangement in several parallel layers of the companions ( shown in different sizes ) of the main deity, the Indianised crowns ( 'karaṇḍa mukutaṣ' ) of Daṇḍī and Piṅgala, definitely date them in the late Pāla or early Sena period. These two Sūrya figures are characteristically representative of the fully developed type of such icons in Bengal, and many of the sun images in the collection of the different local museums and those of eastern India conform to them in a greater or a lesser degree. An inscribed image of the sun god hailing from Bairhātṭā ( Dinajpur ) and belonging to the 12th century A. D. is interesting for it contains some novelties not present in the other group. It is a seated variety which is comparatively rare and the pedestal inscription describes the god as 'remover of all diseases' ( 'samasta-rogaṇām harttā' ). Sūrya is seated in 'padmāsana' with flames issuing from his head and torso, hands ( broken ) holding the usual lotus flowers, his male attendants Daṇḍī and Piṅgala are also shown seated on either side, and the usual female companions being in a standing posture. The artist has faintly suggested the covering

of the body and the legs, and has placed the miniature figures of the eight other 'grahas', four on either side of the central deity; the sculpture is a bit heavy and crude in its style and execution.<sup>1</sup> Among the various sculptures recovered from the temple remains at Khiching (Mayurbhanj State, Orissa) is a beautiful image of Sūrya seated in 'padmāsana' on double petalled lotus ('viśvapadma' or 'mahāmbuja') with his two hands holding full blossomed lotuses by their stalks. He wears a conical crown, earrings and necklaces; the covering of his body and the legs is skilfully suggested by the sculptor. Aruṇa seated below him is driving the seven horses carved on the pedestal; Sūrya has no other attendants. The general simplicity of the relief deftly carved by the artist marks it as a commendable piece of mediaeval Orissan art. Reference may be made in this connection to a huge sculpture in a variety of a very coarse-grained sandstone ('māqārā' according to Orissan dialect), unfortunately very much mutilated, in the collection of the Indian Museum, Calcutta. It is a four-armed seated figure wearing various ornaments and a high 'kirīṭa', holding a short-handled 'śūla' (face downwards) in its back right hand, and a full blossomed lotus by its stalk in the front one; his two left hands are broken, but there are enough indications to show that the front left hand held a lotus; the legs are almost gone, but whatever is left of them shows that they were placed in a crossed position ('padmāsana'). It is described in the Museum records as Vajrapāṇi, but there can be little doubt that it represents a four-armed seated variety of the sun god. Its original provenance being Konārak (Orissa), and the fact that its front hands held two lotus flowers clearly indicate its solar character. Another four-armed figure of Sūrya, but this time a standing one made of bluish basalt ('bāulmārā' in the local dialect), is in the small museum inside the temple compound of Konārak. It shows the god standing in the one-wheeled chariot pedestal with his two male attendants only on either side, his front hands (broken) holding the usual lotus flowers, with a long handled 'śūla' in his back right hand, his back left being in the 'varada' pose with a tiny mark on the palm. These two four-armed Sūrya figures from

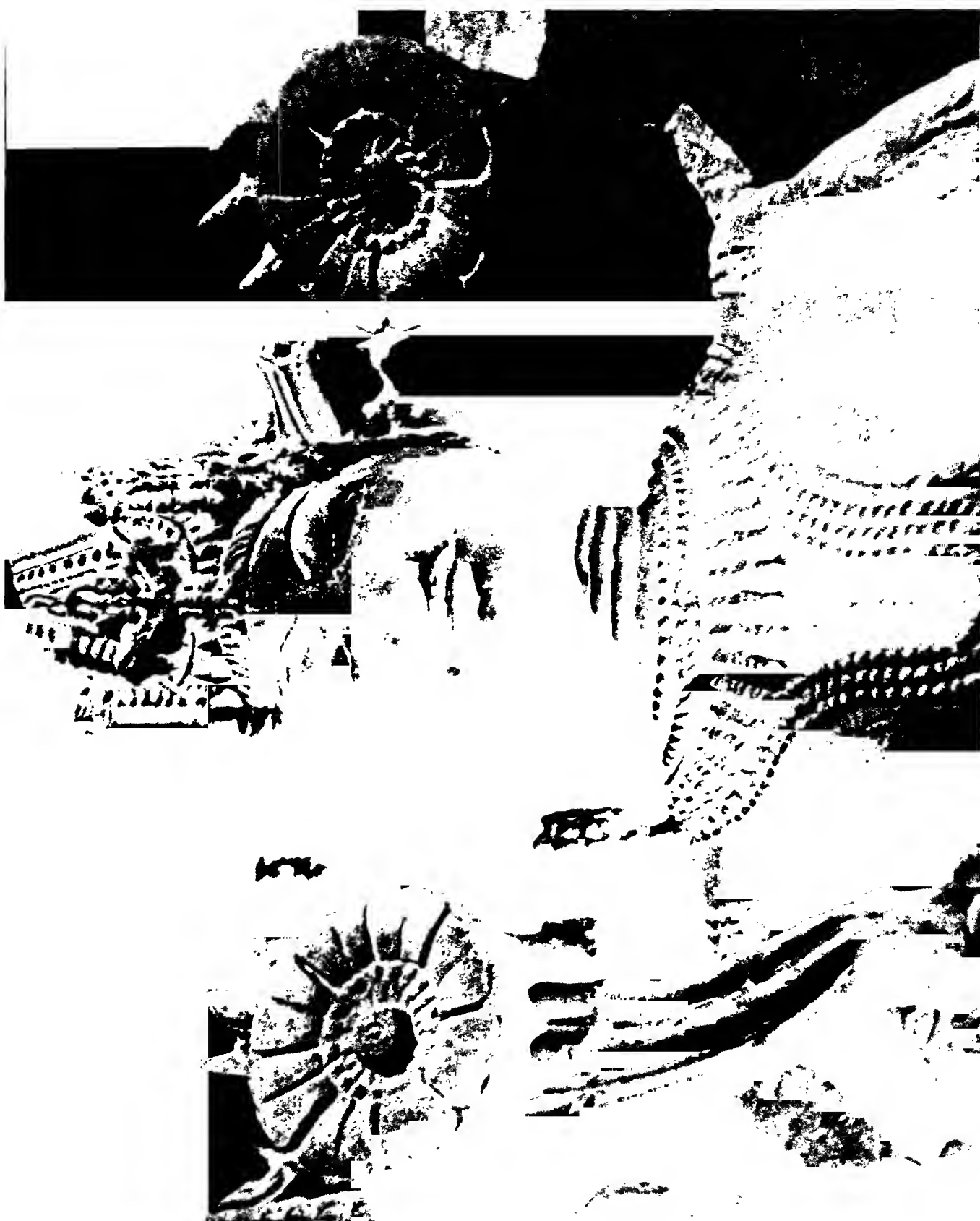
1. 'Dacca History of Bengal', Vol. I, pp. 456-57, pl. XV; A. S. I. A. R., 1930-34, Pt. II, pp. 256-57, pl. CXXVII (c).

Konārak may represent the Vivasvat variety of the Dvādaśāditya group : the 'Viśvakarmāvatāra' describes it in this manner : 'The image of Vivasvat should be characterised by lotus cognisance (i. e. two lotuses in its two front hands) and should have a wreath or fillet in its (back) left hand and a trident in its (back) right'.<sup>1</sup> The mark in the centre of the back left palm of the Konārak figure just described may typify a small fillet.

The western Indian images of Sūrya, though stylistically different from their eastern Indian counterparts, resemble the latter in the broad outlines of their iconography. The Moḍherā sun reliefs are their best representatives, and they can be dated in the 11th century A. D. Much earlier types are not unknown in the west, and mention may be made of the tiny Sūrya figure shown in the extreme right of the main architrave of the shrine doorway of the pre-Caulukyan shrine at Kadvar, a few miles to the south-east of Somanātha-Patan in the Kathiawar peninsula. There are five panels in the form of miniature shrines, having inside them figures of Sūrya, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva and Soma (Candra) in this order, the last having a crescent moon behind his head. Sūrya is seated on a lotus in the 'Mathura Sūrya' or 'Kushan King' fashion (somewhat resembling the 'utkuṭikāsana' pose, described in the iconographic texts), holding two lotuses in his hands. As this is a miniature figure, all the other accessories are absent ; the boots on the legs are also not quite clear from the reproduction.<sup>2</sup> The Moḍherā Sūryas are not all of the same type, there being slight differences in their individual delineation. One (no. 5) of the two illustrated by Burgess in his 'Archaeological Survey of Western India', Vol. IX, pl. LVI, figs. 5 and 6, shows the god standing erect in the seven-horsed chariot ; he has two hands (broken) holding full-blown lotuses ; the god has usual ornaments, the Iranian waist-girdle and the top boots, and is not only accompanied by Daṇḍī and Piṅgala, but the two horse-faced gods (Aśvins, sons of Sūrya by Saṃjñā) are also shown

1. As quoted by T. A. G. Rao, op. cit., Vol. I, App. C., p. 86. The extract describing the twelve Ādityas presents most of them with the exception of Puṣan who is expressly mentioned as 'divibhuja' and possibly Viṣṇu, as four-armed in a subtle manner. In the first line of each couplet describing an Āditya, the emblems in the back hands are named, and in the second line reference is made to the two lotuses. Thus Dhātā the first of them, is described as, - 'Dakṣiṇe paṣṭkari mālā kare vāme kamaṇḍaluḥ | 'Padmā-bhyām śobhitakarā sā Dhātṛi prachamā smṛtā'.

2. H. Cousens, 'Temples of Somanātha', pls. XXII and XXIV.





behind them. The other figure (no. 6) differs from the former in the following respects ; 'it is less richly carved, the lotuses stand above the shoulder and the boots seem to be impressed ; there are no Aśvins and the attendants are not seated, but standing ; there are no horses also ; the figure stands on a lotus ; above it on either side is a devotee or Vidyādhara in the act of praising'. H. D. Sankalia after referring to a few other composite figures of the sun god hailing from different parts of the Kathiawar Peninsula classifies them under three groups '(1) purely Caulukyan Modherā figures, (2) so called "Rajputana type" Rajkot, Dhānk and Junagadh figures, (3) mixed, comprising figures at Kadvar, Thān and Prabhāsa'.<sup>1</sup>

One of the earliest extant Sūrya images of the south Indian variety is that belonging to the Paraśurāmeśvara temple at Guḍimallam in the Madras Presidency. It stands bare-footed on a pedestal on which neither Aruṇa nor the seven horses are shown ; the upper part of its body is left uncovered, and it has no companions by its side. It has its hands raised to the level of the shoulders, holding two lotus buds, and 'from the features of the face and the peculiarities of the modelling in general it may well be taken to belong to a period anterior to the seventh century A. D.' The Melcheri Sūrya of the later Pallava period is almost similar to the above, but Aruṇa and the seven horses are shown on the pedestal.<sup>2</sup> In the central Deccan and its western part solar shrines or images of the early Cālukya and Rāṣṭrakūṭa periods are not unknown. The temple of Lad Khan, probably the oldest in the temple group at Aiholē, has on the west side of the small shrine on its roof an image of Sūrya. 'This last points to the probability of this small shrine having been dedicated to this deity, being placed upon the roof so that the rays of the rising sun could shine straight into the cell and on to the image within, unimpeded by the intervening houses of the village'. Possibly the temple was originally dedicated to Sūrya-Nārāyaṇa, as might have also been the Durgā temple in the same place. One of the five old shrines around Lad Khan's temple was originally of the sun god, for above the figure of Garuḍa on the dedicatory block is a seated Sūrya inside a trefoil niche. 'Within the shrine is a beautiful

1. H. D. Sankalia, 'op. cit.', pp. 157-63.

2. T. A. G. Rao, 'op. cit.', Vol. I, pp. 312-13, pls. LXXXVI-LXXXVII.

standing image, nearly life-size, of Sūrya, but without his boots. Underneath him are his seven horses prancing forward, and flanked by the wheels of his chariot'.<sup>1</sup> An unusual type of the image of this god was found among the loose sculptures in niches within the comparatively late temple of Siddheśvara at Hāveri. This fine image of the sun god is represented bare-footed according to the south Indian convention, but it has the unorthodox adjunct of a seven-hooded Nāga canoppying its head. The image is, however, late and the temple in which it was found can not be dated earlier than the 11th or 12th century A. D.

Solar character can be traced in the origin of the many important Brāhmaṇical deities of the Purāṇic period. The story about Saṃjñā's flight from Sūrya relates how from the leavings or parings of the resplendent body of the sun, many weapons and attributes were made for other divinities. Thus, 'Sudarśana Cakra', 'Vajra', 'Śakti', etc., were each made out of these cast-off portions of the god, and they came to be regarded as the special weapons of Viṣṇu, Indra, Śiva, Skanda and others. The legend perhaps shows, in no doubt a very peculiar way, the solar association of many of these deities. The 'Gāyatrī mantra' of the Brāhmaṇas, already mentioned above, is meditated on in the forms of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva, in the morning, midday and evening respectively, each of which shines resplendent within the flaming solar orb. The close association of the members of the orthodox Brāhmaṇical triad with the sun is clearly manifested by such archaeological evidence as the panels of the shrine doorway of the pre-Calukyan temple at Kadvar (Kathiawar Peninsula) described above. The connection of Viṣṇu with Sūrya is well known and needs no demonstration. The Nirmand (Kangra district, Punjab) copper-plate inscription (c. 612-13 A. D.) of the Mahāsāmanta and Mahārāja Samudrasena illustrates in an interesting manner how sun worship got mixed up with the worship of Śiva. The names of some of these feudatory kings and their consorts such as Varuṇasena, Ravisena, Śikharasvāminī, Mihiralakṣmī, as well as those of the 'conveyer of orders' ('Dūta' or 'Ājñādāpaka') and the 'writer' ('Lekhaka') such as Kuśalapra-kāsa and Udyotārka (who was also the 'gaṇaśreṣṭha') prove that

1. H. Cousens, 'The Chalukyan Architecture of Kanarese Districts' p. 31, and p. 47.

originally they had solar affiliation. But the inscription records the allotment of a village by Samudrasena to the Śiva Mihireśvara enshrined by his mother Mihiralakṣmī, and this emphasises their later Śaiva inclination.<sup>1</sup> Clear connection of the individual members of the triad with the sun god, however, is demonstrated by several interesting image types of composite character, that have been found in different parts of India. These are mostly mediaeval in point of date and emphasise the absorption of the other cult deities in the sun. The 'Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa' expresses the idea underlying these images when it invokes Sūrya in this couplet: 'Brāhmī Māheśvarī caiva Vaiṣṇavī caiva te tanuḥ | Tridhā yasya svarūpantu Bhānorbhāsvān prasīdatu' ('Brahmā's, Śiva's and Viṣṇu's bodies are the same as the body of the resplendent sun whose special nature is three-fold indeed. May the sun be gracious', Bibliotheca Indica edition, ch. 109, V. 71). The three-headed and eight-armed Sūrya in the Chidambaram temple is a characteristic image of this nature; its natural hands are in the 'abhaya' and 'varada' poses, the three other pairs of hands holding two lotuses, 'cakra' and 'pāśa', 'śūla' (?) and 'ṭaṅka' (or a tiny snake?). It stands bare-footed on a pedestal on which are carved Aruṇa and seven horses and is attended by two female figures probably his consorts.<sup>2</sup> In this composite relief emphasis is laid on the oneness of Viṣṇu, Śiva and probably also Brahmā (the lotus in the hands can as well be regarded as an emblem of the god who is 'Kamalayoni') with Sūrya. A somewhat similar composition, three-faced and eight-armed, occurs on the west face of the small south east shrine dedicated to Sūrya inside the compound of Limboji Mātā's temple at Delmal, northern Gujrat, but here it is a seated one. Of the three faces, that on the proper right is probably of Brahmā, on the proper left, of Śiva, and the one in the centre, of Sūrya (Viṣṇu or Sūrya-

1. J. F. Fleet, 'Gupta Inscriptions' (CII, Vol. III), pp. 288-91. Fleet simply observes, 'It is a Śaiva inscription; but the occurrence of the word "mihira", "the sun", as the first component of the god's name, seems to indicate that, in this particular case, some form or other of solar worship was combined with the Śaiva rites'. But this is not exactly the case; the part 'mihira' in 'Mihireśvara' is in evident allusion to the name of the queen-mother Mihiralakṣmī who installed the image.

2. H. Krishna Sastri, 'South Indian Gods and Goddesses', fig. 144.



Nārāyaṇa); the hands that are broken carry the two lotuses (attributes of Sūrya), a 'śūla' and a triple-headed cobra (both are of Śiva), a water-vessel (characteristic also of Brahmā), one of the right hands being in the 'varada' pose; evidently the hands carrying the emblems of Viṣṇu have been lost. The figure is seated on Garuḍa below which are marked the 'Haṃsa' (swan) and 'Nandī' (bull, not a seven-headed horse, Burgess' alternative suggestion), the respective vehicles of Brahmā and Śiva. Though the seven horses and Aruṇa of Sūrya are not present on the pedestal, yet the boots on the legs of the main image, its prominent waist girdle ('avyaṅga') and the two lotuses typify its solar character. Burgess remarks about this curious sculpture, "in one figure the four divinities, Viṣṇu, Śiva and Brahmā, or the Trimūrti - with Sūrya, appear blended; or shall we rather say it represents a Vaiṣṇava Trimūrti, with Sūrya-Nārāyaṇa as the central figure, seated on his 'vāhana' Garuḍa?"<sup>1</sup> Several such composite images have also been found in Central Provinces; the three-faced and eight-armed sculpture originally brought from Bargaon (13 miles north of Damoh, C. P.) is one of them. The emblems of the god are gone with his hands, but his solar character is emphasised by his boots, the charioteer Aruṇa, the seven horses and his three companions. Hiralal is wrong in recognising Mahādeva in the seated bull-faced figure in the proper left corner, Viṣṇu in the standing mace-holding figure just above it, and Brahmā in the bearded standing figure on the right of the main deity. They are really none other than one of the Aśvins (the figure is horse-faced, not bull-faced), Daṇḍī and Piṅgala respectively,—the last two being regular attendants of the sun god. The arrow-shooting goddesses are shown on either side of the top section of the 'prabhāvalī'. Another such figure, but six-armed, is carved in the centre of the shrine doorway of a ruined temple in the village named Madhia (Panna State). The rear most hands carry a trident and a deer, the middle hands, two lotuses and the front right is shown in the 'varada' pose, the front left being broken. In the left corner is carved the figure of a bull and in the right, that of Garuḍa. It should be noted here that the association of the sun god with Viṣṇu and Śiva is much

1. 'Archaeological Survey of Western India', Vol. IX - 'Architectural Antiquities of Northern Gujarat', pp. 88-9, pls. LXIX and LXXI. 7.

emphasised in this particular icon<sup>1</sup>. Coming to eastern India, we can refer to two fine mediaeval sculptures in the collection of the V. R. S. Museum, Rajshahi, both hailing from north Bengal. The unique three-headed and ten-armed image of the 12th century A. D. found at Manda ( Rajshahi ) contains the usual accessories noticeable in a well-developed type of Sūrya image in this part of India. Its central face is placid in aspect, the side ones being fierce ; its front two pairs of hands are broken, but the full-blossomed lotuses held in one pair of them are clearly visible ; the back hands from the right onwards carry a 'khaṭvāṅga', a 'triśūla', a 'śakti', a 'nīlotpala', a 'ḍamaru' and a 'sarpa' ; flames issue out of its heads and shoulders. In it the close connection between the sun and Śiva (Bhairava) is delineated, and the 'dhyāna' in the 'Sāradātilaka Tantra' which describes a variety of Mārttaṇḍa ( Sun ) image appears to conform to it in many of its details. The 'dhyāna' says that such images of Mārttaṇḍa who is half or part of Śiva (Ballabhārdha), should be four-faced, and hold a 'skull mace' ('khaṭvāṅga'), two lotuses, a discus, a spear, a noose, an elephant-goad, a beautiful rosary and a 'skull-cap' ('kapāla').<sup>2</sup> It refers to four faces ('vedavaktra'—the number of the Vedas is four ), but as the sculpture in question is a relieve one, the fourth face could not be shown by the artist ; the emblems enumerated appear to be nine, the tenth hand being probably in some action pose not expressly mentioned by it. Though the emblems in the hands of the image do not all tally with the description, there is a close correspondence ; Sarkar refers to the 'Pīṭhamantra' in the 'Sāradātilaka', which is 'Brahmā-Viṣṇu-Śivātmakāya Saurāya Yogapīṭhāya

1. Hirralal notes these two images in his article 'Trimūrtis in Bundelkhand' published in the 'Indian Antiquary', 1918. These are not really Trimūrtis, but are composite Sūrya or Sūrya-Nārāyaṇa and Sūrya-Śiva figures being described now. His reference to the three-headed image in a Khajuraho temple ( erected in 953-54 ) is out of place here. Its two side faces, as he himself says, are bovine ( Monine ? ) and porcine, the central being human, and thus it represents no other deity than Vaikuṇṭha Caturmūrti, described by me in Chapter II of 'Hindu Iconography'. The temple inscription also, as quoted by him from 'Epigraphia Indica', Vol. I, p. 124, proves it, for the god Vaikuṇṭha is invoked in it. It may be said here that both Natesa Aiyar and Hirralal seem to be wrong in describing the Peshwar Museum miniature stone sculpture, hailing from Akhun Dheri near Charsadda as standing for Trimūrti. Its true nature will be discussed by me in my chapter on the 'Aṣṭadikpālas'.

2. K. C. Sarkar tentatively names it as 'Mārttaṇḍabhairava' ; 'I. H. Q.', VI, 465-70.

namaḥ' ( 'Adoration to Saura who is one with Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva' ). A composite representation of Brahmā and Sūrya can be recognised in the beautiful image of the 11th century A. D. acquired from Mahendra ( Dinajpur ) and now in the collection of the Rajshahi Museum. The composition is in many respects similar to the usual two-armed Sūrya figures of this period, but it is six-armed. Its natural hands hold the usual full-blossomed lotuses, while the four additional hands show 'vara' (with lotus mark on the palm), 'akṣamālā', 'abhaya' ( with 'padmāṅka' ) and 'kamaṇḍalu'. The Dhātṛ aspect of the sun, the first in the list of the Dvādaśāḍityas given in the 'Viśvakarmaśāstrā' holds in its ( front ) hands lotuses, and a lotus garland ( or a fillet of lotus seeds ) in its ( back ) right hand, and a water-vessel in its ( back ) left ( 'Dakṣiṇe paṣkari mālā kare vāme kamaṇḍaluḥ | Padmābhyāṃ śobhitakarā sā Dhātṛī prathamā smṛtā' ). This particular Āditya has no doubt some affinities with the Mahendra Sūrya, but the latter is more in line with the types of iconic amalgams being considered here. Dhātṛ is no doubt one of the Ādityas, but Dhātā or Vidhātā is also one of the synonyms of Brahmā Prajāpati, and thus both these characters appear to be symbolised in this interesting relief of north Bengal.

The names of the Dvādaśāḍityas usually given in the comparatively late texts have already been enumerated in the first part of this chapter. The 'Viṣṇudharmottara', one of the earlier texts, does not name and describe them individually, but simply says that 'the twelve Ādityas should be given the form of Sūrya'. But it seems that Indra was included in the list, for Viṣṇu, Indra and Varuṇa are mentioned in this context just afterwards. Gopinath Rao summarises in a tabular form the description of the twelve Ādityas as given in the 'Viśvakarmaśāstra' ( Vol. I, part I, p. 310 ), but his table is not quite correct, for it makes all the twelve four-armed. A reference to the original text quoted by him shows, however, that at least one of them (if not two), Puṣan, is two-armed, for it expressly tells us that Puṣan should be two-armed and should have lotus cognisance, i. e., two lotuses in his hands ( 'Puṣākhyasya bhavenmūrtirdvibhujā padmalāñcchitā | Sarvapāpaharā jñeyā sarvalakṣaṇalakṣitā' ). Viṣṇu also

appears to be two-armed, for the text enjoins that 'Sudarśana' should be in his right hand and lotus in his left ( 'Sudarśanakarā savye padma-hastā tu vāmataḥ ! Eṣā syād dvādaśīmūrtir—Viṣṇoramitatejasah' ). Each of the remaining ten is four-armed as can be inferred from the way in which they are described.<sup>1</sup> Separate images of these Ādityas are extremely rare, and the two Konārak images of Vivasvān already described are extremely interesting. They are sometimes shown carved on the sides and top of the detached frames ( most probably set up behind an image of the sun god ) on the back slab of the Sūrya image. Rao first drew the attention of scholars to the architectural frame ( not correctly described by him as the 'torana' or gateway of a Sūrya temple ) lying outside the Junagadh Museum in the Kathiawar Peninsula. The frame shows two-armed figures of Sūrya carrying lotuses, in separate niches. three on either side and five on the top ; barring the top centre figure which is shown seated and accompanied by the two arrow-shooting goddesses, all the ten are standing and attended by other female companions ; four of the Navagrahas, probably Śukra, Śani, and certainly Rāhu and Ketu, are shown on the top. The eleven Ādityas together with the central figure which is missing would make up the requisite number. Sankalia draws our attention to an almost similar motif ( but shorn of many of the details of the former ) in the Sūrya relief from Dhānk, in which the 'prabhāvalī' of the main image contains the figure of the eleven Ādityas, five on either side and one on the top. It should be noted that the representation of the Ādityas in the earlier relief of Junagadh and the later one from Dhānk follows the mode laid down in the 'Viṣṇudharmottara' instead of that given in 'Viśvakarmaśāstra'.<sup>2</sup>

Gopinath Rao does not mention any thing about the images of Revanta, nor does he quote any text describing this very interesting type of solar divinity. It is probably because they are almost unknown in southern India ; but they appear to have been quite

1. T. A. G. Rao, 'op. cit.', Vol. I, App. C., pp. 86-7.

2. T. A. G. Rao, 'op. cit.', vol. I, p. 317, pl. XCV ; H. D. Sankalia, 'op. cit.', pp. 158-59, figs. 70 and 72.

common in northern, especially, eastern India. Raghunandana quotes a passage from the 'Kalpataru' which took it from the 'Brahma Purāṇa', and records the worship of Revanta with pomp and ceremony ('Pujyaḥ sāsvaīśca Revanto yathā vibhavavistaraiḥ', 'Tithitattva', p. 690). The 'Kālikā Purāṇa', after describing his image, says that he should be worshipped (by kings) in an image, or a water-vessel, at the gates according to the rites of sun worship (ch. 85, 49.). His worship was also known in Gujrat, as the inscription, of Śārṅgadeva from Vantli shows' (Lüders' List, 'Ep. Ind.', Vol. X, No. 624). He is described in the Purāṇas as the principal son of Sūrya, and that his worship was popular in north India is proved also by the iconographic sections of such early works as the 'Bṛhatsaṃhitā' and the 'Viṣṇudharmottara'. The chapter on Pratimālakṣaṇa in the former lays down that 'Revanta is a horseman engaged with his companions in the sport of hunting' (ch. 57, V. 56); the 'Viṣṇudharmottara' simply says that 'the lord Revanta should be like Sūrya, (and) on the back of a horse' (Bk. III, ch. 70 v. 5). A black basalt image of this son of Sūrya belonging to the late mediaeval period, originally hailing from Ghāṭnagar (Dinajpur) and now in the collection of the Rajshahi Museum, presents him in a very interesting manner. He is shown riding on horse-back with his legs encased in boots; he holds a whip in his right hand and the reins of the horse in his left; an attendant raises an umbrella over his head; two robbers are near him, one ready to attack him from the front, and the other from a tree top behind. The pedestal shows a woman standing, a devotee, a man with a sword and shield about to attack a woman cutting a fish with a fish-knife; on the right corner of the partially broken stela appears a dwelling house with a couple inside it. The relief with this genre scene cannot be satisfactorily explained by the account of Revanta given in the 'Bṛhatsaṃhitā' or 'Viṣṇudharmottara'. The 'Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa' which along with the 'Viṣṇu Purāṇa' says that he was the son of Sūrya by Samjñā and was also the king of the Guhyakas, appears to throw some light on this relief. It tells us that "Revanta is the god that delivers people from the terrors of forests and other lonely places, of great conflagrations, of enemies and

robbers and bestows upon his worshippers comfort, intelligence, happiness, kinship, perfect health, fame and exalted position".<sup>1</sup> The top and bottom sections of the relief probably typify peaceful home-life, the blessing of the god to his worshippers, while the middle one illustrates one of the various perils that befall them. It may be noted incidentally that the motif of 'a woman cutting a fish' with a big fish-knife also occurs in the centre of the pedestal of the Dacca Museum Hāritī image. The 'Kālikā Purāṇa', while recommending Revanta's worship to be performed at the gates, describes him as riding a horse with his hair fastened up by a cloth, wearing a coat of mail, holding a whip in the left hand and a sword in the right which also rests on the back of the white horse. This description also tallies in part with the Ghāṭnagar relief.<sup>2</sup> In a very indifferently preserved image of this god recovered from an old tank at Baḍkāmtā (Tippera), and now in the collection of the Dacca Museum, he is shown on horse-back with a bowl in his right hand, in the company of musicians, other male and female attendants, and even retriever dogs. 'Mṛgayā' (hunting) is a royal sport ('vyasana') in which revelries were indulged into, and this appears to be emphasised in this relief. Several sculptures exactly similar to it hailing from Bihar and now in the collection of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, were wrongly identified as Kalkī who is also represented in mediaeval art as riding on horseback and brandishing a sword in his right hand.<sup>3</sup>

*Manu and the Asvins*—Yama, the Āsvins, and Manus, the present and the future, were also several other sons of Sūrya, whose images are described in some of the iconographic texts. Yama is one of the guardians of the eight quarters (Aṣṭa-Dikpālas), and as such his image will be studied in the chapter on the Aṣṭadikpālas. The twin gods, the Āsvins, are the divine physicians

1. 'Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa', (Bibliotheca Indica Edition) ch. 109, vv. 22-23.

2. The Ghāṭnagar relief was first correctly studied by N. B. Sanyal, Curator, V. R. S. Museum, Bahabhi, in the 'Indian Historical Quarterly', vol. III, 1927, pp. 469-72 and plate.

3. B. B. Bidyabinod corrected this error in 'J. A. S. B', New Series, Vol. V, 1909, pp. 391-92, pl. XXX.

born out of the union of Sūrya and Samjñā who had assumed temporarily the shapes of a horse and a mare ; their Vedic counterparts were the Nāsatyas, the Indo-Iranian deities, who are mentioned along with Indra, Mitra and Varuṇa in the Boghazkūi inscriptions. Their images are rarely described in the texts ; the 'Bhaviṣya Purāṇa', while describing the figures of various attendants of the sungod, says that the Aśvins should be placed one on either side of Sūrya, and as they were born out of (the union) of the two (assuming) the form of horses, they are (called) Aśvins ('Brāhma Parva', ch. 124, v. 20). They are seldom depicted separately in mediaeval Brāhmaṇical art, and are only infrequently placed in the Sūrya reliefs of western and central India. It has already been shown that some Moḍhera reliefs of Sūrya and the Damoh sculpture of Sūrya-Nārāyaṇa contain the figures of the gods who are shown horse-faced. Though the images of the Manus are described in the 'Viṣṇudharmottara', they are extremely rare in Indian art. The text says, 'The present Manu should be furnished with the marks of a king, whereas the future one should be devoid of all ornaments, wearing matted locks and carrying a water vessel and a rosary ; engaged in austerities, (he) is endowed with lustre, though lean'<sup>1</sup> It should be noted that there is nothing distinctive in the form of the present Manu, but the Bhaviṣya Manu has clear iconographic traits according to the 'Viṣṇudharmottara' description. The north-western side of the basement wall of the Paharpur stūpa contains a relief ( 859 N.S. ) showing a potbellied figure standing with a slight bend with two plantain trees, one on either side ; it is two-armed, the left hand holds a water-vessel and the right one, a rosary ; it wears a 'dhoti', has a 'jaṭāmukuta' on its head and a sacred thread on its body and is not decorated with any ornaments ; its face is damaged but its expression is calm and serene. Another figure in the same wall, almost similar to the above in all its iconographic details, is cruder in style and execution. R. D. Banerjee described the first of the sculptures as a 'corpulent ascetic' without trying to ascertain its identity ; S. K. Saraswati correctly suggests that

1. 'Viṣṇudharmottara', Bk. III, Ch. 70, vv. 2-3. The other past Manus are to be depicted like the present, while the future ones, like the one named Savaṇṇā ( Bhaviṣya Manu ) just described.

the two reliefs closely conform to the 'Viṣṇudharmottara' description of Bhaviṣya Manu quoted above.<sup>1</sup>

*The Navagrahas* :—The Navagrahas were offered special worship in mediaeval times by the Indians, and the ceremony named 'Grahayāga' was much prevalent in the remote corners of Eastern India. Their worship, however, does not seem to have been much in vogue in the Gupta period, for their images can hardly be recognised among the extant sculptures of the time. The Gupta inscriptions do not even incidentally refer to the worship of this group of divinities, and it is presumable that it became prevalent in the post-Gupta age. It continued, however, for centuries afterwards as the literary as well as archaeological data testify. The great Smārta author Raghunandana of Bengal is said to have collected a lot of information about it from such earlier works as 'Āśvalāyanagr̥hyapariśiṣṭa', 'Matsya Purāṇa', 'Yājñavalkyasmṛti' etc. ; 'Grahayāgatatva', though not included in the works on 28 'tatvas' written by Raghunandana, is attributed to him. The 'Yājñavalkyasmṛti' lays down that "the 'grahayajña' should be performed by one who desires peace and prosperity, ample rains (for his crops), long life and nourishment, and who wants to harm (his enemies) ; Sūrya, Soma (Candra-Moon), the son of the Earth (Maṅgala—Mars), the son of Soma (Budha—Mercury), Bṛhaspati (Jupiter), Śukra (Venus), Śani (Saturn), Rāhu and Ketu are known as the 'Grahas' ; (their figures) are to be made of copper, crystal, red sandal, gold (in the case of Budha and Bṛhaspati), silver, iron, lead and bell-metal respectively ; (or these figures) should be drawn on canvas with their respective colours, or in 'maṇḍalas' with scent (scented pastes like that of sandal-wood). Or their images should be made of stone, lump of clay and wood.<sup>2</sup> It should be noted that according to the Smṛti writer, the figures of the 'grahas' made of different metals, specially associated with one or other of them, and if those were wanting their forms drawn on canvas or in 'maṇḍalas' made of scented pastes, were mainly for use in the ceremony of the 'Grahayajña'.

1. S. K. Saraswati, 'Early Sculpture of Bengal', pp. 68-9. The only difference between the description in the text and the reliefs in question is that the latter show corpulent figures, while the Bhaviṣya Manu is to be depicted lean in appearance according to the former.

2. 'Yājñavalkyasmṛti', Bombay edition (ed. by B. S. Moghe, 1892), p. 89.



This may be one of the reasons why their images of the Gupta period have not been found. But their stone images were meant also for architectural use in the post-Gupta period. The Navagrahas either standing or rarely seated are usually carved side by side, with their characteristic cognisances about which the texts differ. Pandit B. S. Moghe, in his commentary on verses 297-99 of the 'Ācārādhyāya' of the 'Yājñavalkyasmṛiti', quotes the following description of them from the 'Matsya Purāṇa': "Sun of the lustre of the inside of a lotus seated in 'padmāsana' with lotuses in his hands should be always two-armed riding on a seven-horsed chariot. The white moon clad in white garments and white jewels should be made two-armed, one hand holding a mace, the other being in the 'varada' pose, and should ride a ten-horsed chariot. The son of the earth (Maṅgala) having red garlands and red dress has a ram for his mount and is four-armed, his hands holding a spear, a trident, a mace, the fourth being in the boon-conferring pose. Decked in yellow garlands and dress, and having the lustre of the 'karṇikāra' flower, Budha rides a lion, his (four) hands showing a sword, a shield, a mace and the 'varamudrā'. The respective preceptors of the Devas and the Daityas (Bṛhaspati and Śukra) should be made like him yellow-white and four-armed, their hands holding a staff, a rosary, a water-vessel and a boon. The son of Sūrya (Śani) of the effulgence of 'Indranīlamanī' should ride on a vulture, his four hands displaying a trident, a 'varamudrā', a bow and an arrow. In this (group), Rāhu of the fierce face and blue colour is commendably depicted seated in lion-throne, his (four) hands carrying a sword, a shield, a trident and a boon. The ugly-faced dusk-coloured Ketus seated on vultures are all two-armed, their hands holding maces and boons. All the grahas who bring good to people wear 'kīṛṭa' and are in height 120 'aṅgulas' of their own". The 'Viṣṇudharmottara' (Bk III, ch. 69, vv. 2-10) gives us quite a different description of the 'planets', while other texts like the 'Agni Purāṇa', 'Amṣumadbhedāgama', 'Śilparatna' differ from one another as regards many essential points in their respective accounts.<sup>1</sup> The Navagrahas are

1. Many of these texts have been quoted by T. A. G. Rao in his 'Elements etc.', Vol. I, App. C, pp. 91-97.

usually carved side by side on one single slab, such slabs being placed on the door-lintel of not only shrines dedicated to Sūrya, but also to many other major deities of the Brāhmaṇical pantheon. The Navagraha slabs belonging mostly to the mediaeval period have been found from different parts of India, and hardly any one of them goes back to the Gupta age. Almost all the old Hindu temples at Osia (Jodhpur State, Rajputana) have the nine planets carved on the frieze of their shrine-doors. There are two ancient temples there originally dedicated to Sūrya; they not only have the 'planets' represented in groups, but one of the latter, Candra, appears to have been depicted separately on the projecting pillars of these shrines. He is shown in one case as supported by two birds, and not riding in a chariot drawn by ten horses<sup>1</sup>. Very late representations of individual members of this group of divinities are not unknown, but separate figures of them belonging to early mediaeval period are extremely rare. The two reliefs (Nos. 60 and 61) on the basement of the Paharpur temple, correctly identified by S. K. Saraswati as Candra and Bṛhaspati, were at first wrongly described by R. D. Banerjee and K. N. Dikshit as Śiva and Brahmā respectively. They belong to the 7th or 8th Century A.D., the period of the second group of the stone reliefs at Paharpur. No. 60 shows a 'male figure standing quite erect between two plantain trees with a rosary and a water vessel in its right and left hands, wearing a very artistically arranged 'jaṭāmukuta', and no ornaments; there is a prominent crescent mark over the crown of matted locks'. Banerjee described it as Śiva Somanātha, Dikshit, 'Śiva Candraśekhara'. But the figure can not be that of Śiva, for the simple reason that it does not show two of his characteristic cognisances, the 'urdhaliṅga' (pennis erectus) and the third eye vertically placed on his forehead. The summary description of Candra as given in the 'Agni Purāṇa', fits in very interestingly with the relief in question. It says, that Candra should have a 'kuṇḍikā' (water vessel) and a 'japyamālā' (a rosary of beads as his attributes ('kuṇḍikājapyamālīnduh')).<sup>2</sup> A crescent is invariably shown behind the head and

1. D. R. Bhandarkar, 'Temples of Osia', 'A. S. I. A. R.', 1908-09, pp. 111 ff.

2. 'Agni Purāṇa', Ch. 51. 10-12 : An analysis of the description supplies us with some interesting

shoulders of MAO and MANAO BAGO, two Zoroastrian deities associated with moon, appearing as reverse devices on some coins of Kanishka and Huvishka; MAO usually holds a long sceptre in one of his hands and a fillet in the other. But these Zoroastrian moon gods are royal figures dressed in the way of the northerners (cf. the 'udīcyaveśa' of the north-Indian sun images), while the Paharpur relief in question as well as the Purāṇic description depicts the moon god as a sage. The Kalyāṇasundaramūrti of Śiva (the type depicts the marriage of Śiva and Pārvatī) at Elephanta has among its attendants the standing figures of Sūrya and Candrar on his either side. The latter is characterised there as a serene person wearing 'jaṭās' with a crescent behind his head, and carrying in his two hands a jar ('sudhābhāṇḍa', a pot of nectar). The moon is supposed to be the receptacle of the divine nectar ('sudhā') and thus the nectar jar in his hands is very appropriate. Relief No. 61 at Paharpur shows a fat squat two-armed figure standing between two plantain trees wearing a 'jaṭāmukuṭa' and the dress of a Brāhmaṇical sage, his right and left hands carrying a rosary and a manuscript. Both Banerjee and Dikshit described it as an image of Brahmā, but Saraswati is right in identifying it as Bṛhaspati after comparing it with his characterisation in the 'Viṣṇudharmottara'. The text lays down that 'Bṛhaspati should be made of a complexion like that of molten gold and two-armed, a manuscript and a rosary being placed in his two hands'. This description does not tally with the 'Agni Purāṇa' account of Bṛhaspati.<sup>1</sup> Rāhu is another of the 'grahas', who seems to have been depicted independently of Navagraha reliefs. But he appears in other compositions, not separately like the Paharpur figures of Candrar and Bṛhaspati. In many Trivikrama reliefs of central Deccan, central Provinces and other parts of India, Rāhu appears as a grinning face near the

facts : Teja i. e. Sūrya is two-armed holding a lotus and a sword (a few such images from Mathura of the Saka-Kushan period hold these identical attributes); Soma, Maṅgala, Budha, Bṛhaspati and Śukra all show a rosary in one of their hands, their other hands holding, a water-vessel, a spear, a bow, a waterpot, and again a waterpot respectively. Thus, according to this account, there appears to be no marked distinction between the images of Soma, Bṛhaspati and Śukra.

1. For a detailed description of these two reliefs, cf. S. K. Saraswati, 'op. cit.', pp. 65-67, fig. 17 : 'M. A. S. I', No. 55 ('Paharpur'), pp. 53-54, pl. XXX(b) and (c).

uplifted leg of Viṣṇu as Trivikrama (cf. *infra*, chapter on the Vyūhas and the Vibhavas). On some reliefs representing the Vajrayāna goddess Mārīcī who is none other than Sūrya in feminine form, Rāhu appears on the pedestal below the charioteer goddess (the female counterpart of Aruṇa) driving the seven pigs drawing Mārīcī's car (cf. R. D. Banerjee, 'E. I. S. M. S.', pl. XII, fig. b). The 'kīrtimukha' design may also stand for Rāhu as suggested by Kramrisch. As for the group representation of these Navagrahas, mention may be made of the much mutilated door-lintel of the mediaeval Śiva temple at Bargaon in the Jubbulpore district of the Central Provinces. It contains the figure of dancing Śiva in the central panel with two 'Dvārapālas' of the god in the extreme corners, and the nine 'planets', four on either side of the middle panel,—Ravi, Soma, Maṅgala and Budha on its right, and Bṛhaspati, Śukra, Śani, and Rāhu and Ketu combined (Ketu is placed on the top of Rāhu) on its left. All the figures from Sūrya to Śani are two-armed and well-dressed, wearing 'vanamālās', holding their respective attributes which can not be clearly distinguished; Rāhu is all head and torso with his two hands shown in the 'tarpaṇamudrā', and Ketu, very much mutilated, is a hybrid figure—part man and part snake. The whole relief is beautifully carved and is assignable to the time of the Cedi king Karnaḍadeva or a little earlier ('M. A. S. T', 23, p. 107, pl. XXXIXb). A late Gupta sandstone relief from Sarnath (I. M. no. 1536), contains the figures of four planets, Bṛhaspati, Śukra, Śani and Rāhu. All are two-armed, the first three standing in graceful poses, while the fierce-looking Rāhu is shown only upto the breast with a grinning face, round protruding eyes, hair tied up in a bunch of spiral coils rising upwards ('piṅgalordhakeśa'). Bṛhaspati, Śukra and Śani have each a halo behind his head, and a rosary in his right hand, while the left hands of the first two hold a waterpot, Śani's left hand being broken; there is thus a close correspondence between the 'Agni Purāṇa' description of these three planets and their representation in this interesting Sarnath relief. Ketu is absent in it, for there is no place for him after Rāhu whose hands holding the crescent moon are shown in the 'tarpaṇa mudrā'. The addition of Ketu to the group illustration seems to have been a comparatively late

feature. The lintel slabs of all the earlier Śiva temples of the Bhauma-Kara period contain only the figures of eight 'grahas', Ketu appearing only on the architraves of those of the Gaṅga period<sup>1</sup>. The Navagraha slabs in the collection of the V. R. S. Museum, Rajshahi, usually show the 'grahas' standing side by side on double-petalled lotuses; they also seem to follow partially the 'Agni Purāṇa' account of the nine 'planets'. In some of these reliefs, the figure of Gaṇapati is carved by the side of the 'planets'. The huge Navagraha slab in the Konārak museum shows all of them seated inside miniature shrines with their respective emblems in their hands. A very fine sculpture found at Kankandighi (Khari, 24 pergannas, Bengal) and now in the Asutosh Museum, Calcutta University, shows the 'planets' standing in a line on lotus pedestals, holding their respective attributes in their hands with Gaṇeśa in front of the row, and their respective cognisances below. The beautifully designed long rectangular slab with the main figures inset in very high relief, appears to prove that the composition was probably a cult-object and not a door-piece, perhaps used in times of 'grahayāga'. Another unique sculpture which appears to have had the same use is the 'Navagraha-cakra' found among the ruins of Khiching (Mayurbhanj, Orissa). The twelve-spoked wheel (12 spokes perhaps stand for 12 months) rests on its side on a lotus pedestal; inside the broad rim are arranged the figures of the nine 'planets', Sūrya seated in the top centre, Rāhu and Ketu on either side in the bottom; on the sides are carved one above the other the six other seated 'grahas', three on each side, with indistinct objects in their hands; in the centre of the wheel is a three-faced (?), four-armed figure seated on a lotus in 'padmāsana' with its front hands in the 'dhyānamudrā', and the back hands carrying indistinct objects (it may stand for Brahmā, i. e., Dhātā or Vidhātā); flames are shown issuing from the rim of the wheel.

1. K. C. Panigrahi has drawn my attention to this interesting feature of the Bhuvaneswara temples. One other point of interest is that in the earlier slabs Bṛihaspati and Śukra are shown beardless, having a full-grown beard only in the later ones.

## EXPLANATORY NOTES TO THE PLATES

(The accompanying plates illustrates some Viṣṇu and Sūrya images in J. I. S. O. A., Volumes XIII, XIV and XVI, and others of an allied character)

PL. XIII (a).—Four-armed Āditya. Two left arms are broken, front right hand shown in ‘vyākhyāna-mudrā’ (expounding pose) holds a rosary, and the back right hand, a full blossomed lotus. Lotus-halo and stela partly broken. Head covered with well-arranged curls, neck has ‘trivali’ marks; the figure is tastefully decorated with such ornaments as ear-rings, necklace, armlets and bracelets (‘aṅgada’ and ‘keyūra’), jewelled waist-girdle (‘raśanā’, mekhalā’, or ‘kāñcī-dāma’) and scarf, a long garland (‘vanamālā’) and leglets (‘mañ-jīra’); it has also a long sacred thread (‘yajñopavīta’) worn in the ‘upavīti’ fashion. Faint suggestion of the covering of the upper part of the torso, but the legs are bare. A staff and lotus carrying male figure (probably Daṇḍī) on the right, and a seated one partially obscured by an unrecognisable object (an ink-pot?—if so, the seated figure may be Kuṇḍī or Piṅgala, the pen and ink-pot carrying attendant of Sūrya) in its front, on the left. The pedestal is plain having no wheel-mark or the figures of Aruṇa and the seven horses. The last feature is typically south-Indian; but it must be remembered that it is an Āditya, not the Sūrya proper, and we may not expect all the features of the north-Indian type here. Certain novel traits in the main figure such as, its gracefully bent (‘ābhaṅga’) pose (Sūrya figures are almost invariably in straight frontal, i.e., ‘samabhaṅga’ pose), its ‘vanamālā’, the unusual mode of depicting the only two attendants, etc., are to be noted. It appears to stand for Dhātā, the first of the Ādityas described in p. 90. Another point to be noted in this relief is that the lotus-flowers are placed in the back hands. Central Indian, mediaeval.

PL. XIII (b).—Four armed Viṣṇu from Taxila; for a detailed description of this figure, cf. J. I. S. O. A., Vol. XIII, p. 23.

PL. XIV.—(a) The Nava-graha ‘cakra’ from Khiching, Mayurbhanj Orissa). It has been fully described in p. 100.

PL. XIV (b).—Two-armed seated Sūrya in a chariot drawn by two (or really four, the two behind being obscured by the front ones) caparisoned horses being driven by Aruṇa shown below Sūrya. Staff or spear carrying Daṇḍī (if it be a spear, this attendant may stand for Skanda named in some texts as a companion of the sun god) on the right, the bearded figure of Kuṇḍī (or Sraosha) holding some indistinct objects (?pen and ink-pot) on the left. The 'Northerners dress' ('udīeyaveśa') of the main figure is fully emphasised by the close covering of the body and the booted legs of the god. A long scarf is tastefully arranged over the arms and in front of the figure; the hands with the lotuses are broken. The sitting posture of the god is reminiscent of the 'seated Sūrya' type of Mathura, but the style is distinctly late Hellenistic of the Gandhāra region. This very fine marble image of Sūrya was found in Afghanistan, and is now in the Kabul Museum. Date: c. 6th century A.D.

PL. XV.—A well-executed East Indian variety of Sūrya image of the early mediaeval period in the Vaital Temple, Bhuvaneśvara (Orissa). The god is tastefully decorated by a jewelled crown, well-arranged curls, necklace, bracelets, and a few other ornaments. The close covering of the body is suggested, but the legs are inserted in the chariot in the Kasipur or Deora Sūrya fashion (cf. pp. 80-81). The hands of the god hold two full blossomed lotus flowers. The arrow-shooting goddesses (Uṣā and Pratyusā) are on either side, and the driver Aruṇa in the middle holds the whip and the reins. The seven horses are carved on the pedestal.

PL. XVI.—Head and upper part of the torso of a mediaeval Sūrya image of northern India. The figure is profusely ornamented.











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